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### A Letter from the Publisher

14The economic story in the late '70s is a big story, if not the big story," says George Taber, who, as TIME's Wash-

ington-based economics correspondent since 1977, may be somewhat partial to the subject. Even before he began work on this week's big story about the "Topsy-Turvy Economy," Taber was hearing frequent complaints that there was no "new Keynes" to explain or solve inflation, declining productivity and the other persistent problems of the decade. "At the same time," he says, "there has been excited talk about a group of fresh, unorthodox economists who are gaining attention

and influence on Capitol Hill For this week's cover story. Taber spoke with Harvard's Martin Feldstein and other members of this new group of top economic policymakers as Treasury

Secretary G. William Miller and Presidential Adviser Charles Schultze. Says Taber: "I was surprised to find that officials who often begrudge 15 minutes to discuss current policy would happily sit back for an hour and theorize about what has gone wrong with the economy and why." Until recently, Taber notes, the average American had little familiarity with that topic. Says he:



"incentive economists" and with such Bargain Hunters Chris Byron and George Taber

"They could tell you exactly what Ted Williams batted in 1946 but didn't know the figure for last month's inflation. Associate Editor Chris Byron, who wrote the story, finds

such economic illiteracy to be on the wane. "Unlike Europeans," he says, "who avidly discuss the economy, Americans have long supposed that it would take care of itself. Only now

are we beginning to change our view. If TIME's staff is indicative, this change begins at home. Byron says that his family has been boycotting meat since January, "entirely because of the cost." Taber's family has begun buying nonperishable goods in quantity when the price is right. "This can draw bizarre looks at the checkout counter and cause problems when you are moving." warns Taber, who is in the process of transferring to the New York City area to become an associate editor in TIME's Economy & Business section. "The movers seemed bewildered by the cases of paper towels, dishwashing liquid and

toothpaste my wife Jean had squirreled away in the cellar." Confides Taber: "She manages the family finances. As an economics correspondent, I never touch anything less than a billion dollars."

John a. Meyers

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Cover: The once productive U.S. economy has become bloated by the inflation plague of the 1970s. Yet a group of emerging new economists is offering some fresh ideas that are taking hold in Washington. See ECONOMY & BUSINESS



Cinema: It took Godfather Director Francis Coppola \$30 million and almost four years to complete Apocalypse Now, his epic about the Viet Nam War. The final result is a failure of often breathtaking proportions



Andrew Young: The irrepressible U.S. Amhassador to the U.N. resigns in a furor over his secret meeting with the P.L.O. The affair further strains U.S.-Israeli relations and hurts Carter politically among blacks.

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Press Public radio's All Things Considered makes noise and news. > National Journal makes sense out of Government.

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Once physicians' handmaidens, nurses today are battling for better pay, more status and some of the docs' prerogatives.

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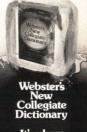
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#### Letters

#### Who's in Charge?

To the Editors.

I wish Jimmy Carter could have read your story on leadership [Aug. 6] aloud on his Sunday TV talk after returning from the mountain, instead of giving us that "peanut butter and jelly" aga.

Will Rogers

Your concise and rational analysis should be required reading of every student, every elected official, indeed every citizen of this country. Perhaps then, when the man on horseback finally does arrive, he will be in the tradition of Jefferson, not Hitler.

Gordon M. Hochberg Port Chester, N.Y.



America's quest for a strong leader is oddly reminiscent of Nietzsche's memorable adage: "Said the sheep: 'Leader, guide us, so we won't be afraid to follow you.' Replied the leader: 'Sheep, follow me, so I won't be afraid to guide you.' "

Gutther Volk

Marburg-Dagobertshausen West Germany

The people are not following because they are in a state of denial. We are about to lose a part of the American dream and to follow Carter is to accept rather than deny. When they perceive the paucity of paths before them, Americans will support the President's effort.

Roger Venable, M.D. Fort Gordon, Ga.

Delafield, Wis.

Of the 50 faces for America's future listed, 45 are from east of the Mississippi. Is there really such a dearth of brains and leadership in the vast Midwest and West? Robert K. Garrity Newbury Park, Calif.

Why no future leaders from the conservation or environmental movement? Norman B. Wood Your list contains not one member of this nation's finest school of leadership, the military.

CWO2 Dean M. Thompson Officer-in-Charge

Officer-in-Charge NALF, Alice/Orange Grove, Texas

Incredible. You ignored Muhammad Ali, the world's best known American. Lawrence Martin Washington, D.C.

What about Kate Millett? Angela Davis? Jane Fonda? Crystal Lee Sutton? Greg Dillensnyder

Peace Corps Boss Richard Celeste?

Larry S. Pollak

North Canton, Ohio

Clamma Dale, the new Beverly Sills?

Louis A. Baer
Pikesville, Md.

I am both humbled and challenged by your surprising selection. Sister Elizabeth Morancy, R.S.M. Providence

#### Rosalynn's Role

It is a joy to know that Rosalynn Carter is quietly counseling Jimmy Jaug 61, She has probably kept him from making many more mistakes. How many wives have you seen put a restraining hand on their husband's arm, be it ball games, barrooms or business, and say "Now, dear." It says a lot of good things about Jimmy that he gives Rosalynn the credit that she is due.

Georgia Perkins Memphis

It scares the devil out of me to think Rosalynn is her Jimmy's closest adviser. There's not a general or admiral alive who would be allowed to let his wife sit in on "commander's calls," much less help to devise a battle plan. A First Lady? Yes! A co-president? No sir.

Luverne P. Hinson Augusta, Ga.

#### Israel vs. the Bedouins

The Israeli government proposes to restel forcibly these nomadic people in industrial townships, completely against their will and without right of appeal (Aug. 6). To me this smacks of the Warsaw ghetto. Will there be barbed-wire-topped walls to keep the Bedouins in their new "homes".

Cynthia A. Carrington Lawrence, Kans.

Bedouins have always prospered under Israeli rule, having full rights, free medical and social services, educational opportunities, etc. Some will have to move, but so will even more Israelis and from more permanent and established homes—that is the price of peace. Aaron Seruya San Francisco

#### A Note of Sympathy

My comment concerning the President being all allone and naked as a siybird Duly 301 is juxtaposed misleadingly with another concerning his request for concerned an early continued to the concerned an early continued to the concerned and the continued to the conment to be sympathetic namely, that the various parts of our political system are functioning to produce fragmentation instead of a mutually reinforcing whole, and that he is not being helped at all—by-ground press, Cabbert parchhaltam, regional parents. Cabbert parchhaltam, regional parents. The control of the control forging cobesive national policy.

Jonathan Moore John F. Kennedy School of Government Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

#### St. George in Ohio

Your gnat's-eye view of Mansfield, Ohio IAug 61, implies that Editor Martin Yant's misfortunes were somehow caused by a vengeful community. Actually, his crusade against Sheriff Weikel was widely popular. His elaborate innuendoes against numerous prominent people were read with great interest at first and then with amused skepticism. A light and the part of the property of the pr

Editor Emeritus, News Journal Mansfield, Ohio

#### CH2H5OH→Oops

Even before it was considered a way to run a car, I used grain alcohol as "wonder fuel" [Aug. 6]. But no matter how you tank up—automotively or anatomically—the chemical formula is CH<sub>2</sub>CH<sub>2</sub>OH. Neither my liver nor my carburetor is familiar with CH<sub>3</sub>H<sub>2</sub>OH.

Michael du Bois Bellemead, N.J.

#### Writing a Wrong

I am grateful for Paul Gray's generoscios of The Duke of Deception: Memories of My Father [Aug. 13]. I admire the excerpt attributed to my book, but it in fact belongs to The White Album by Joan Didion.

Geoffrey Wolff Warren, Vt.

Because of a production error, what was to have been the excerpt in the following week's review of Didion's book appeared in place of an excerpt from Wolff's work.

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Coal is the next best option. Coal can also be turned into gasoline and diesel fuel, but the process is more expensive and complex than that for oil shale. As with oil shale, coal mining also poses environmental problems.

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#### American Scene

#### In Arizona: Tracks in the Desert

As the dusty truck loaded with guns and radio gear rolls down the Arizona highway south toward Nogales and the Mexican border, Bernell E. ("Bernie") Lawrence points toward a range of mountains. "O.K.," he drawls in a desert-dry voice, "where's the place up there you'd look for lion tracks?" He already knows. "Lions like the backbone of a set of mountains. They'll cross where two canyons meet. For them it's like climbing stairs." Lawrence is 48. For much of his life he tracked and killed mountain lions, bears and covotes. Then society's shifting values made it less trouble to hunt men

His tracking skills came down from a grandfather who hunted wolves in Texas around the turn of the century and a father who ranched and trapped in Arizona. Bernie turned family tradition into a steady paycheck: hiring out to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service as a "predatory control officer." "Mostly I followed the sheep," he reminisces. "Something's always killing sheep." It was Lawrence's job to find the right rogue: one bear feeding off cattle among 30 who lived peacefully on Arizona's White River Apache land. A single lion killing sheep among a dozen living near one edge of the Grand Canyon. "If I killed the wrong one. I wasn't doin' my job." he explains. "I'd have to study a cat, learn where he fed. where he went to water, where his scent

For years. Lawrence says, "anybody that could track a lion or a bear was looked on as something outstanding." But when everybody went into the ecology kick, "they figured people like me were worse than the lion or the bear." Lawrence adds with a bitter edge on his voice. "I had people from two agencies at a time following me around to see if I was doing right. I quit to get away from the harassment." Eventually he found work as a range detective with the Mojave County sheriff's office, and that led him to a job doing "crime reconstruction" at county headquarters in Kingman. His analyses of bloodstains and footprints at murder scenes and burglaries sent scores of killers and thieves to jail

In the early '70s when parcotics traffic from Mexico increased, he reluctantly became a "narc." For about five years. Lawrence and a select team stalked the desert like a posse out of the Old West. They seized millions of dollars' worth of drugs and airplanes, and scores of smugglers who had figured the harsh. 13.000sq.-mi. wastes of the desert could serve as a safe private landing field. In one successful two-week camp-out near a remote airstrip, his team bagged a DC-10, two tons of marijuana, a four-wheel-drive truck and four smugglers.

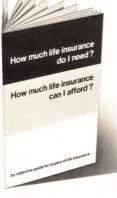
Lawrence's biggest coup was the locally famous Norman-Taylor case. In 1975 nearly 20 agents gave up on a remote airstrip vigil when a smuggler's plane coming in was accidentally spooked and did not return. Changing tactics. Lawrence followed the faint tracks of two trucks that had passed by the site. Forty miles away at 4 a.m. he found tire marks where an airplane had landed on the concrete highway, then a roadside spot

marked by footprints, broken shrubbery and more tire tracks. Ten miles later at a dirt turnoff, he found fresh tire tracks that matched imprints left by the suspicious trucks at the first airstrip.

Lawrence followed the tracks deep into the desert to a low adobe house behind a big stand of sagebrush. "It hit my mind that gray sage don't grow that tall. he remembers. "I dropped to the ground and rolled under my truck with my gun. I figured I was about to get my head blowed off." The sagebrush was piled on top of more than a thousand pounds of marijuana. But the smugglers had gone to town for some sleep. Lawrence and a dozen agents were waiting when they got back

his morning Lawrence is bound for Nogales with Partner Bill Morgan to give a lecture on tracking. The class is a mix of state narcs. Tucson cops and customs officers. Lawrence and his desert lore are a curiosity to most of the audience. But they know his specialty means more than following a fleeing outlaw. Carefully catalogued tire tracks and footprints can be used as evidence in court. Twelve people were convicted in the Norman-Taylor case simply because Lawrence linked tire tracks and footprints to the drug cache, the airplane flying that night, and other trucks used for hauling contraband. Two of the smugglers were prominent Tucson restaurant owners. Marc and Mike Norman. When the case went to court, a judge had quashed a defense motion to suppress evidence by writing: "These defendants were done in

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#### **American Scene**

by a skilled and experienced tracker," Even so, Lawrence often wishes he were back hunting lions. Most marijuana smugglers bring in hard drugs as well, and they kill people who get in their way. The state of the s

In Nogales, backed by charts and diagrams, he tells the cops how he once tracked a burglar along a concrete road by watching for traces of hotoprins in "little stringers" of wind-blown sand. Though the stringers of wind-blown sand, though found that tracking and despring from America. He has camped out for weeks at desert airstrips with his dog Baron. "It's hard to keep the younger guy staked out hard to keep the younger guy staked out at the start, but two trips out is and-ho at the start, but two trips out is and-ho at the start, but two trips out is and-ho hot when the younger guy staked out

ven in two trips a newcomer picks up a good deal of lore. Pigeon-toed prints usually mean a man is running. You can tell which predator killed an animal by the way the carcass was entered: dogs and wolves eat through the back, lions enter through the rib cage. An old man's tracks tend to be more regular than a young man's. Because shoes conform to a man's feet, you can later identify in court the feet that made a track, even if the shoes used during the crime were thrown away: the distinctive "pressure patterns," "wear points" and the "triangle" between the big and second toe are dead giveaways. You can track a man walking on rocks to disguise his trail by looking for stones separated from the surrounding soil

After the lecture. Lawrence takes his class down to a border trail where he has previously set down tracks to simulate smugglers carrying drugs, hiding them, resting, running. Soon he has more than a dozen policemen poking around in the scrub and examining markings in a dry river bed, imagining scenarios of varying accuracy. Lawrence's respect for the desert is hard as rock yet almost mystical. "It has a life it lives under certain rules, he says. "It's harsh enough that people don't crowd in." And he adds, "When the big crisis comes, the only people who'll survive are people who can live like varmints-people who can root hog or die. By now, the law enforcement class has gathered round, "panting like lizards," as Lawrence would say, tired and thirsty in the 95° heat. "O.K.," the old scout asks, "anybody here who thinks this was a waste of time and is man enough to say it?" No one speaks. The desert with its varmints and cactus and barren rock mountains in the distance presses in around them. - James Willwerth

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Once your car has cooled down, you may find you can turn the air conditioner off. If so, you'll save about 10% of your gasoline

And why not save gasoline every way you can?

- 1. Don't carry excess weight
- 2 Keep the tires properly inflated
- 3 Avoid jack-rabbit starts and sudden stops
- 4 Combine short trips
- 5 Form car pools
- 6 Make sure that your car is properly maintained your engine tuned

This summer play it cool. Save gasoline every way you can



#### Nation

TIME AUG. 27, 1979

## The Fall of Andy Young

#### Secrecy, deception and pressure politics trip Carter's friend

It is very difficult to do the things that I think are in the interest of the country and also maintain the standards of proceed and diplomacy. I really don't have done a horizont proceed that the standards of the standard to the standard the standard to the standard to

ith that touch of bravado. Andrew Young last week announced that he had resigned as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. Jimmy Catter, expressing "deep regret" in a handwritten letter, accepted the resignation of his close friend, fellow Southerner and one of his earliest and staunchest black political backers.

gravely embarrassed Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, but the meeting with the P.L.O. had enraged Israel and threatened to derail U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East American black leaders, on the other hand, were angry at Carter for so read-thy accepting Young's departure, and they the second of the man developed the second of the major black was a second of the major black was considered to the major black and Jews.

The furor over Young erupted just as Robert Strauss, a special U.S. envoy for the Middle East negotiations, was heading back there for talks with Israeli and Egyptian leaders. He had already faced a eathU.N. Security Council Resolution 242. which implicitly affirms Israel's right to exist as a state. Strauss basically concurred, but added that the U.S. favors "a reaffirming and a building on" of 242 with a new draft that could cite 242 and include the Camp David language recognizing the Teigumate rights of the Plastismian peoples of the Camp David and the Camp David and the Camp David language recognizing the originate rights of the Plastismian peoples of the Camp David Language recognizing the own in the U.N. "a long three limit are solution of its own in the U.N." along three limits.

When he asked for Begin's approval of this. Strauss and that he "meet with negative results." In fact, the Israelish hinted darkly that rather than be pressured by darkly that rather than be pressured by withdraw from the autonomy talks. From the five sessions held so far, it has become evident that the West Bank and Gzaz leaders will not join the process without the approval of the P.L.O. But Bewithout the approval of the P.L.O. But Bewithout the approval of the P.L.O. But Bewithout the service of the process of the process without the approval of the P.L.O. But Bewas almost completely unexpected talks.

Tom Jerusalem Strauss few to Egypt. where President Annuar Sadistressed that any new U.N. resolution should not interfere with the control of the control of the control of the control of the control by 'the U.S. resolution on 242. Such an intitiative, said a cabinet spokeman, 'contradicts the commitments of the U.S. to Isced.' With an impasse thus threatening. Carlo of the commitments of the U.S. to Isactive that the commitments of the U.S. to Istitized. The control of the Control of the Control to the commitments of the U.S. to Istitized that the control of the Control of the Control the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control the Control of the Control of

Looming over the Strauss Middle Fast

trip was the debate that it is scheduled to begin this week in the Security Council Expected to be placed on the agenda na motion that could modify 2d to recognition that the security of the state while the U.S. is proported to horotropic mortis promise to Starel and veto such a motion. Washington wants the kind of compromise resolution that Strass outlined to Begin in theory this might prompt El-O acceptance of 2d2 and termove the El-O acceptance of 2d2 and termove the transit of the security of the secu

What makes it so difficult for the U.S. to talk to the P.L.O is a 1975 promise that Washington made to Israel not to "recognize or negotiate" with that Palestinian organization until it accepts Israells right to exist and Resolution 242. Although more than 100 nations recognize the P.L.O. as the legitimate political



U.S. Envoy Strauss (right) confronts Premier Begin and Israeli Ambassador Evron
When the American proposed a compromise, he said, he "met with negative results

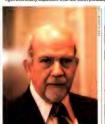
Washington was startled, as were capitals around the world, for in his 3.1 months at the U.N. the freewheeling Young had demonstrated an extraordinary capacity that he generated But this time there was notatiling the uporar when it was learned that Young had met with an official of the Platsins Liberation Organization, in violation of repeatedly stated U.S. policy, ment of State about the meetings.

It was soon clear that Young had become too great a liability for a White House that has been striving to demonstrate that it is capable of national leadership. Not only had Young's deception ering crisis over Israeli concern that the V.S. was reaching out to try to bring the P.L.O. into the Middle East peace process, a prospect that is anathema to Jerusalem. Saud Strauss on the plane to the Middle East. "The Young affair." reinforces the unfounded suspicions that the U.S. is dealing in the dark with the P.L.O."

Things did not go well during Strauss's two-hour meeting on Friday with Israeli Premier Menachem Begin. On the matter of most concern to the U.S., how to draw the Palestinians into the current talks on autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Begin retirerated his country's position that there must be neither change nor didution of the Camp David accords or



"I get extremely impatient with the slow, plodding way of doing things." Young explaining his action at Washington press conference



P.L.O. Observer Zehdi Labib Terzi

arm of the Palestinians, the Israelis adamantly condemn it as a terrorist force dedicated to the destruction of Israel.

Even before Andy Young's venture, there were a number of U.S.-P.L.O. contacts, most notably by Milton Wolf and Leader of the Cleveland Jewish Community and currently U.S. Ambassador in Austria, who met with Issam Sartawi, a Vienna-based P.L.O. official Coming on op of the other contacts. Youngs meeting with the P.L.O. set off alarms in Jenualson. It seemed to confirm a shift in contact, as U.N. Ambassador, Young sits in the Carter Cabinet.

The strategy to bring the P.L.O. into the peace process was apparently originally prompted by the Saudis, using their vast oil exports as pressure. However it is unclear whether the P.L.O. will go for this



House of Kuwaiti Ambassador Bishara

Walking right into an espionage network.

scheme, even if Israel does. The Palestinian Central Council, a P.L.O. policymaking body, Isas week agreed to reject any Security Council resolution that classification and recognize the P.L.O. as the "sold and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." Such a hard-line P.L.O. stance, however, had not been so certain in late July, when the U.S. saw the con-



Israeli Ambassador Yehuda Blum

troversial resolution heading toward a U.N. vote. If the U.S. vetoed it, the Arabs would be furious, if it did not, the Israelis would be furious. Washington wanted to obtain a delay and assigned the task to Young, among others.

A Journey explained it last week, he first approached the ambassuots of Ku-wait, Syria and Lebanno but was told that they could not arrange a postponement of the Council debate. They advised him instead to talk to someone from the P L.O. Young responded by telling Kuwaiti Ambassuodar Abalial Yaccoub Bishara that he 'could not meet with representatives of the P L.O.' Then he added copy). Nei-debate of the P L.O.' Then he added copy). Nei-debate of the P L.O.' The he added copy is the property of the Security Council to come to his home to talk business' Bishara was just such a member. Young then sent out an obvious signal. "I can't tell

#### Nation

you who you can have an your home? Sowhen Young dropped by Bishara's Beckman Placetown house on July 26. Bechampanied by his six-year-old so andrew, he had a metry good late that a commanded by his six-year-old so and he had been been been been been been been perfectly the been been been been been to be the been been been been to be the been been been been to be the been been to be the been to b

traightforward as this might sound. Young knew that his brief meeting was hardly routine Undertaken on his own initiative. though possibly with some kind of tacit or indirect encouragement from within the Administration, it had broken the U.S. pledge to shun substantive P.L.O. contacts. As a result, he did not report the encounter to his superiors at the State Department He later defended his action by claiming that he did not wish to implicate the department. In an interview with TIME. Young explained that the State Department once actually had told him not to report officially a social en-



President Carter faced a dilemma

counter with a P.L.O representative at the Syrian ambassador's home Said Young "I wrote up a one-page memorandum of the conversation and gave it to a high-level State Department official But he told me. 'Don't send that in. Just put it in your file."

Young's unorthodox initiative, in fact, probably did play some part in getting the Security Council meeting postponed from July 27 to Aug 23. For nearly two weeks, at any rate, that welcome development seemed to be the only result of the chal with Terzi And then the balloon went up. The reason the Israelis knew about the meeting.

According to a US Government source. TiMi learned. Young 'walked right into" the espionage network Israel maintains in New York to keep watch on the Palestinians "The Israelis have staked out the Arabs around the U N with bugs, taps and surveillance," said the source. Israeli agents thus followed Terzi to the Kuwaiti residence and watched Young arrive What went on inside the town house, said the American source. was picked up by clandestine Israeli recording devices that had been planted some time before (A senior Israeli source gave a slightly different version, saying that Israel obtained details of the Young-Terzi talk not from inside the town house but by intercepting P1. O communications.) When asked if he thought that his meeting with Terzi had been bugged. Young replied. "I have no way of knowing, nor do I care.

U.S. intelligence experts say that New York City has long been the center of Israeli espionage in America. According to them, the Israelis have obtained informa-

#### The Turbulent Times of an Outspoken Ambassador

Back when he was a civil rights lender. Andrew Young was generally considered a stillift diplomat. He was a conciliator, a charmer, one who could quietly negotiate a compronie between even the angiest adversaries. While shouting demonstrators surrounded the Birmingham jail where Martin Luther King Jr. was imprisended during a civil rights protess. Young gene ("Ball") Connor and won a promise to end segregation of facilities at large downthown stores.

So, too, was Young's diplomacy crucial to Jimmy Carter's

presidential campaign. He mobilized a voter registration drive, mustering black support for Carter. When Carter later blundered into saying that any neighborhood had a right to maintain its "ethnic purity." Young objected but stood by him and helped convince blacks that he had not intended a racial slitur. Asked if there was anyone to whom he was indebted after winning the nomination. Carter named one: Andy Young.

Young learned negotiation and conciliation in the Italian and Irish neighborhood of New Orleans where he was born 47 years ago. His grandfather was a prosperous "bayou entrepre-

neur," his father a denists and his mother's a prominent black Creoke Athlough they trude to shield him from racial prejudice. Young recalls: "I was taught to fight when 
call prejudice young recalls: "I was taught to fight when 
potuning was better than fighthing." After going to Howard University and Hartford Seminary Foundation, the 
eventually moved to Atlanta to work with King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In 1972, after une
a predominantly white Atlanta district.

But street diplomacy is very different from the cool, precise diplomacy of international relations. Young's candor, boldness and naive idealism were often ill suited to the subtlettes and exactitudes crucial to world politius. Like many a Southern preacher, he was never at a loss for words, and he knew their power. But he failed to fully appreciate the dangers of using them rhetorically and carelessity.

So while embodying the spirit and idealism of Carter's Human Rights policy, he also became at times a loose cannon on deck, damaging not only his own image but that of the President who loyally kept him in office



Young meeting villagers in the Dominican Republic in August 1977

tion by posing as FBI agents and once even used a synagogue as a wiretap center. Washington tolerates these operations because it does not want to jeopardize its valuable working relationship with Israeli intelligence in the Middle East.

After waiting a few days, he Israelis made public the Young-Terri meeting, presumably to interrupt the U.S. encounters with the P.L.O. But Young feels that Jerusalem might have had another motive in breaking the news. He told Tisse: I think the Israelis were after the Presentation of t

smel leaked the fast that Young and Terrish and met to Newsweet magazine. That prompted a query to the State Department. This was the first that Foggy. Bottom had heard of the matter and Young was asked for an explanation. His story, he had been out strolling with sorn, deched to story in to see Bishara and there accidentally found Terzi. with sorn, deched to story in to see Bishara and there accidentally found Terzi. with Terrish the sorn deched the sorn deched to the third the sorn deched the third that the t



Secretary of State Vance was adamant
Outraged by unexpected embarrassment

partment! 'I'm going to give you an official version,' and I gave an official version which did not in any way lie."

Secretary Vance, flying back from a visit to Ecuador, got a cable informing him of Young's explanation. Naturally believing his ambassador and relieved at hearing that this had been only a chance encounter, rather than a violation of the

His timing was often terrible.

When the U.S. was engaged in delicate negotiations with Brit-

ain about the future of Rhode-

sia, he said the British had

practically invented racism.

Then he said there was just as

much racism in Sweden as in

Queens, N.Y. Then he said Presidents Nixon and Ford

were racists, then that he himself was racist, which he defined

as being unable to deal comfort-

ably with people of another

U.S. pledge on the P.L.O.. Vance authorized State Department Spokesman Tom Reston to release Young's explanation He did so Monday noon. Aug. 13.

With the news of some kind of a meeting out. Young decided to call on Israel's U.N. Ambassador Yehuda Blum. a Czechoslovakian-born expert on international law. What Young especially wanted to accomplish, he said, was to assure the Israelis that they were wrong to feel that "there was some grand conspiracy to change our policy toward the P.I.O."

to change our power lookant in Pr LO mapsively to Young's account of what had actually transpired at the house on Beek-map Place. Blum said that the consuct with Terri and some events in the last mompher of trans. "It pointedly rocalled that Young had made a number of statements with "which he were not exactly pleased." For one thing, Young had said expenses were "yet yet exert human beings" for another, he had compared the Israel bombing of Lebenon with the U.S bomb-boming of Lebenon with the

ing of Viet Nam.
Young argued that the Israelis should keep quiet about the details of the meeting with Terzi in order to avoid an anti-Israel, pro-Palestinian backlash among American blacks. As could be expected. Blum informed his government of Young's visit. The Israeli Foreign Min-

.....



Listening to U.N. debate

When the U.S. was opposing the influx of Cuban troops into Africa. Young said the Cubans "Bring a certain stability and order to Angola." More Carter was sending Soviet Party Boss Leonid Breizhnes a letter Carter was sending Soviet Party Boss Leonid Breizhnes a letter "hundreds, maybe thousands of political prisoners" in the U.S. When the U.S. was trying to work outsine dogs relationship with fran's Ayatullah Khomeini. Young said the would some day be sweed as "Some kind of a sant;" and when the U.S protested against firm's revolutional the "So-called due process" that led to Murderer John Spenkelinis's execution in Blorato.

race

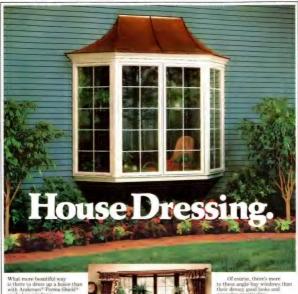
Carter often had to repudiate Young's statements. After Young's comment on U.S. political prisoners. Carter phoned to say he was "very unhappy." But he believed Young had great value in improving U.S. relations with the Third World. As Carter once said of the U.N.: "It is an unconventional diplomatic situation. and it requires an unconventional diplomat." When Carter chiedde members of his Cabinet just be-

fore his July housecleaning, he rebuked Young for the embarrassments he had caused, but then went on to praise him, saying that no one else in the room had "improved relations with 50 countries of the world."

The rapport of the two men stems partly from a shared commitment to translate religious beliefs into action. Said Young as a Congressman: "When I pray "Thy Kingdom come on earth." I mean I want Atlanta to look like heaven." And upon resigning last week he said. "I continued to identify with what may be called in biblical terms the least of these my breth-ren." He also cited a bit of Victorian piers the least of these my breth-ren." He also cited a bit of Victorian piers my least of the left in the his head not at all bloodied—and unbowed.



On a trip to Portugal shortly after taking office



angle-bay windows.
Their crisp, classic lines

bring an elegant touch to the most traditional lifestyle. And stay fashionably good looking year

after year. For over the window's solid vood core lies a rigid vinyl sheath It protects the wood inside from the weather outside. So you needn't worry about it chipping, flaking, peeling or blistering. Or worry about painting it every few years



and double-pane insulating glass reduce energy costs. And help keep out drafts and keep in comfort. Now what could be more beautiful than that?

Dress up your house with Perma-Shield angle-bay or bow windows in the size that suits it best. Your Andersen dealer can help. He's in the Yellow Pages under "Windows."

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Bayport, MN 55003  Please send me more information on	Address			Andersen Windowalls		
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I plan to $\square$ build $\square$ remodel $\square$ replace.	State	Zip		AW		
			008-089	There Copyright : Anderson Corp. Depter Min 1978		

#### Nation

istry then lodged a protest with the U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv

The U.S. embassy sent an urgent cable to Washington that was on Vance's desk at 7 a.m. Tuesday, when he came to work. Its contents stunned him. He ordered that Young be asked to explain the contradictions between what he had told the State Department and what the Israelis claimed he had told Blum. This time. Vance got from Young the complete version of his meeting with Terzi. The Secretary was furious with Young for communicating with the Palestinian without authorization and especially for compounding this mistake by concocting a misleading story that the State Department had issued as the truth. In broader terms, the Secretary was worried about possible damage to the already frayed U.S.-Israeli relations. Vance went to the White House and told the President that Young had to go. Said a senior White House aide "Vance was adamant." Carter tentatively agreed, but said that he wanted "to sleep on it.

Carter faced a painful dilemma. He had claimed truth and honesty as touchstones of his Administration, and here his U.N. Ambassador had caused the Administration to issue a false statement on an

enormously sensitive matter. Moreover. several members of the Cabinet had just been sacked on charges of bucking White House authority. How could Carter fail to hold Andy Young, even though a good friend, to the same standard? Explained a ranking Carter aide. "The President knew that he couldn't tolerate that. He knew that he had to take him out. He was heartsick about it " What made matters worse, added this aide, was that even though Young had long enjoyed a privileged position as the White House's main link to black America and to much of the Third World abroad, his action had made him "a political liability at a time when the President can't afford another liability.

oung too realized this. He wrote out a letter of resignation before going to Washington for a 10 a.m. meeting to which he had been summoned by Vance. While Young later described this session as "pleasant," some of Vance's top aides said that the usually cool Secretary of State did nothing to conceal his outrage at the embarrassment Young had caused the department. He told the ambassador that he should go to the White House to quit

That was exactly what Young already

intended to do. During his 90-minute talk with Carter in the Executive Mansion's family quarters, the ambassador offered to resign. Young later hinted that he might have been able to keep his job if "I could promise that I wouldn't continue creating incidents. But I can't promise that." But some White House aides quibble with Young's recollection: they say that the President did not give his errant ambassador any real alternative to resignation

Shortly after their first session. Young joined Carter again, and the two went into Hamilton Jordan's office. There most of the senior White House staffers had gathered to discuss and lament what was happening to Andy Young. With Carter's arm around his shoulder. Young said movingly: "I have friends here and so I want to tell what I've decided." Two hours later. the normally sarcastic Jody Powell, the White House Press Secretary, was barely able to choke back tears and prevent his voice from quivering as he told reporters that Young was quitting.

At a State Department briefing. Young declared that he "didn't have much to offer in the way of advice" about what the U.S. should do in the Middle East; but he questioned the wisdom of the

#### Talking to the P.L.O.

n September 1975. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger of-ficially pledged that the U.S. would not recognize or negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization until it affirmed Israel's right to exist. While both Ford and Carter Administrations have professed to uphold that pledge. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance is reported to have privately called it "that damned agreement," and interpretations of its exact meaning can vary. Some encounters, direct and indirect. between U.S. officials and the P.L.O.

▶ U.S. diplomats in Beirut repeatedly met P.L.O. representatives during the Lebanese civil war in 1976, which was considered an extenuating circumstance because American lives

were endangered. Kissinger even sent a message of thanks to the P.L.O. for its help in evacuating Americans

Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Prince Saud met P.L.O. officials in June 1977 and urged them to accept a U.N. resolution that would accept Israel's right to exist and also call for a Palestinian homeland. Prince Saud said he was acting at the suggestion of Vance The P.L.O. rejected the proposal

▶ In November 1978. Congressman Paul Findley, an Illinois Republican and a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. carried a message from Carter to a meeting with P.L.O. Chief Yasser Arafat in Damascus Arafat told him that the Ambassador Milton Wolf at Vienna embassy

P.L.O. would pledge nonviolence if an independent Palestinian state were created in the West Bank and Gaza with a connecting corridor Late this spring, U.S. Ambassador to Austria Milton Wolf

met the P.L.O.'s Issam Sartawi at an Austrian government reception, then at an Arab embassy cocktail party. Wolf acted under instructions from Washington to make Sartawi's acquaintance but not to discuss anything substantive. In mid-July, around the time Arafat came to see Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky and former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, Wolf joined Sartawi for a serious meeting on an undisclosed subject. The State Department said last week that Wolf had been officially "reminded" of the U.S. policy against negotiating with the P.L.O., but a U.S. diplomat in Europe said Wolf had been acting on instructions from Washington

For the past month, U.S. Ambassador Robert Strauss has been having talks with several Palestinians living in the U.S. Chief among these was Columbia English Professor Edward Said, who was recently in Beirut for a meet-

ing with Arafat.

Last week, a five-man delegation led by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark met with Arafat in Beirut, saw Palestinian refugee camps, and visited sites of Israeli attacks in southern Lebanon. The visit had been arranged by Congressman Findley.

Indeed, one thing certain about Andy Young's secret meeting with a P.L.O. official is that it was hardly an innovation.



## Would America be better off without Chrysler?

It's a fair question.

You've heard from all the pundits, the instant experts, and the vested interests. They all have their favorite version of what's wrong with Chrysler.

Now we'd like to set the record straight.

We've made our share of mistakes in a tough

competitive business. And we're willing to accept responsibility for them.

But to turn our back on 140 thousand of our own employees would be irresponsibility.

To close the doors in 52 American communities in which Chrysler is a major factor of the local economy would be irresponsibility.

To deny employment to the 150 thousand people who work for the dealers who sell Chrysler products would be irresponsibility.

To curtail the income of the hundreds of thousands who supply goods and services to Chrysler would be irresponsibility.

## Would America be better off with a Big 2 instead of a Big 3?

When it comes to competition, more is better than less.

A Big 3 means you have more choices. More products, more innovations of which Chrysler has delivered its fair share, and then some, over the years.

Example: Chrysler was first with a solid state electronic ignition system as standard equipment.

But the Big 3 or the Big 2 has its real meaning only in terms of people. People who have jobs. People who pay taxes to America and to the communities in which they live. A Congressional Budget Office study

shows that people with jobs at Chrysler, or jobs that depend on Chrysler, contribute 11 billion dollars each year in tax revenues to our country. Without those jobs they would be collecting 2 billion dollars instead in unemployment benefits.

So you'd have to say that a Big 3 contributes a lot more to the health of the American economy than a Big 2.

## Is Chrysler building gas guzzlers?

A lot of people who should know better have been peddling this myth.

The fact is that Chrysler has the best average gas mileage of the Big 3.

Chrysler has more models rated 25 miles per gallon or better than GM. Ford. Datsun, Toyota or even Honda.

We also have one of the industry's most proven 6-cylinder engines in the efficient Chrysler Slant 6. The Slant 6 is standard in all our current compact and mid-size cars. Even in many of our full-size cars as well.

And Chrysler's percentage of small car sales to big cars is the best of the Big 3 by far—not the worst—as some would have you believe.

Over 87 percent of the cars Chrysler builds are not big cars at all—they're mid-size or smaller.

So let's put to rest the myth that Chrysler is building the wrong kind of cars.

To date we've built more of the right kind of cars than anyone else.

We were in the market two years ahead of General Motors with America's first front-wheel drive small cars: the roomy and fuel-efficient Omni and Horizon.

However, we lacked the resources to build our own 4-cylinder engines. We felt it was important to get these cars to the American people in the shortest possible time, so we reached an agreement to buy up to 300 thousand engine blocks a year from Volkswagen.

As a result, our production has been limited by the availability of these engines. We apologize to all the people who have had long waits for their Omni or Horizon

We will eliminate the engine shortage during 1980 when our new 400 million dollar engine plant starts turning out our own 4-cylinder engines.

In 1981 we will bring to market a new fleet of compact-size front-wheel drive cars including the first American front-wheel drive station wagons. This one car line alone represents a 1 billion dollar investment.

Our engineering tests project that these cars will have an average fuel economy rating of over 25 miles per gallon. Yet they will have more room inside than GM's new X cars.

In all, Chrysler will be providing about one million efficient front-wheel drive vehicles to continue its leadership in front-wheel drive.

#### What is Chrysler asking fora handout?

No

We're asking the government to help us offset the heavy cost of regulation.

This is a bad year for the automobile industry.

And a worse year for the attornione intustry.

And a worse year for Chrysler, First, gas lines flattened sales of almost all cars except the smallest. Now the country is moving rapidly toward a recession. Even GM is having difficulty moving large stocks of full-size ears.

But GM can weather the storm better than Chrysler because they can distribute the costs of regulation over a lot more cars. For example, studies indicate that Chrysler costs per car for government regulations are \$200 to \$300 more per car than for GM.

As a result, interest costs for Chrysler average about \$125 per car, but only \$10 per car for GM. Those differences alone are staggering for

Chrysler.

Because of the hundreds of millions committed for new plants and new products, and the hundreds of millions invested to meet regulations. Chrysler faces a temporary shortage of funds. Chrysler has no choice but to seek temporary assistance from the heavy burden regulation places on us. We want equity restored to the competitive system because the system is anticompetitive as it stands now.

We're not asking for a hand-out, a bail-out, or welfare. Chrysler is asking for temporary assistance for 1979 and 1980 equal to the cost of meeting government regulations for those two years.

It will not cost the taxpayer anything because Chrysler will repay the government out of future profits.

## Has Chrysler done everything it can to help itself?

We have restructured all our overseas investments to generate new working capital so we can concentrate on the North American market.

We have mounted an all-out effort to get record financing for programs that will make us competitive and profitable.

We have become more efficient by eliminating duplication, cutting expenses and introducing innovative and even unconventional programs. In fact, we have reduced our costs by \$500 million so far this year.

We've added top level marketing management. We've hired the best brains in the business to improve manufacturing quality, and to put tighter controls on purchasing.

Our dealers and our suppliers have given Chrysler strong commitments of support.

#### Does Chrysler have a future?

You can count on it.

Seventeen million Chrysler owners can count on it. Our 4700 Chrysler-Plymouth and Dodge dealers can count on it. Our employees can count on it. Our suppliers can count on it.

The concerned citizens of 52 communities whose livelihoods are closely tied to Chrysler can count on it.

And the combetition can really count on it.

We have in place for 1980 and 1981 the programs, the products and the management Chrysler needs to be competitive, to sell cars, to meet our obligations, to become profitable.

We've been in business for fifty-four years, and almost all fifty-four have been profitable.

We plan to be around at least another fifty-four. You can count on it.

John Research

John Riccardo Chairman, Chrysler Corporation

Lee A. Jacous

Lee A. Iacocca President, Chrysler Corporation

#### Nation





Jesse Jackson listens to Young at U.N.; Urban League's Jordan and N.A.A.C.P.'s Hooks and Coretta King criticize resignation The departing ambassador, said Hooks, was "a sacrificial lamb for circumstances beyond his control [He] should receive a medal

rigidity of U.S.-P.L.O contacts. At one | out of a job, said Hooks, Young "should | time, he said, we all thought "that the P.L.O. would go away They have not gone away. They seemingly have increased in their political influence and potential economic strength. And I don't think it's in anybody's interest to ignore those kinds of forces.

ntil Carter names a successor. Young will remain at his U.N. post. He will thus complete his one-month tour as Security Council president and probably will lead a group of businessmen on a trade mission to West Africa in mid-September. As for his plans after that, he ruled out running for office in 1980, saying that he intends "to work with President Carter for his re-election

Reaction to Young's resignation varied widely around the globe. In Africa a liberation movement veteran was saddened, remarking that Young was "the only American I ever met who listened well And there's a lot you don't even have to tell him." In Beirut a P L O statement declared that Young was coerced into resigning, a tactic that "represents the ugliest form of mental terrorism and racist persecution." Israeli officials studiously avoided comment But in Bonn. a high-ranking official said that Young "typified the Carter Administration's

The nation's black leaders were stunned by the departure from the Admember Mayor Richard Hatcher of that was "an insult to black people." To Congressman John Convers, a Michigan Democrat, what happened to Young was a "pointblank firing." Benjamin Hooks. executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, charged that Young had been made "a sacrificial lamb for circumstances beyond his control." Instead of being

have received a presidential medal" for pulling off "a brilliant diplomatic coup. Hatcher, alluding to next year's elec-

tion, said that "the trauma of the departure of Andrew Young certainly creates an amount of confusion [among blacks] over who your friends are and who your enemies are.

Some blacks may include American Jews among the enemies, and this could become the ugliest and most alarming immediate result of the Young affair. Said the Rev Jesse Jackson, a Chicago civil rights activist "There's tremendous tension in the air around the nation over the forced resignation." Relations between the two groups, he said, are "more tense than they've been in 25 years." Observed David Fincher, a black Miami businessman "Blacks are asking. 'Is this the way that Jewish people feel about us? Are all Jews like that" A leader of a major Jewish group reported that he and his colleagues have been getting bitter calls from blacks who charge that Jewish organizations promote the interests of Israel, a foreign power, over those of the US Said he "This looks like a black-Jewish confrontation and we are very upset

Angry as they were most black leaders recognized that fanning black-Jewish hostility would benefit no one and quickly began taking steps to defuse the issue Hooks, for example, speculated that Carter was not necessarily "giving in" to Jews when he accepted Young's resignation Said he "In light of all the recent Cabinct resignations, it seemed to be another test of Carter's ability to lead." The fact was that only a few prominent Jews had called for Young's head, while most Jewish leaders praised the Ambassador's work at the U.N.

As for Young, he urged black officials around the country to cool down any agitation on his behalf. He denied that there and Jewish leaders," but he added that

there would be "something of a confrontation as friends." He also warned that the black community's evolving attitude toward the Middle East should "in no way be seen as being anti-Jewish It may be pro-Palestinian in a way that it was not before, in which case the Jewish community will have the responsibility of finding a way to relate to that without being anti-black." This week, black leaders will be meeting in Washington to discuss relations with the Jews. Also high on the agenda: the black relationship with the Carter Administration

How that relationship is eventually defined could have an impact on the President's re-election As a start. Carter will have to answer satisfactorily a number of questions posed last week by black leaders Examples Will the Administration pursue the policy toward Africa that had been championed by Young? And why was Ambassador Wolf in Austria allowed to keep his job even though he had several meetings with the P L O ' Blacks will also be closely watching Carter's choice to replace Young The President has already said that he would consult Young Democratic Congressman Parren Mitchell of Maryland, a former chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, warned Carter not to compound his mistake by appointing "a traditional, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant. Foggy Bottom-type to the U.N post.

hile the White House confronts these essentially domestic problems arising from Young's resignation, there remains unresolved the urgent Middle East policy matter that got the ambassador into trouble. How to coax the PLO into a more moderate stance and bring them into the peace process without causing an Israeli walkout Squaring this diplomatic circle will require compromises achievable only through extraordinarily skillful negotiations

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- Control Library

100

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#### Nation

#### What's on the Voter's Mind

Legislators get an earful

Jimmy Carter, who gained power in Washington as a political outsider, has renewed his 1976 campaign charge that the nation's capital is an "isolated" city. out of touch with the rest of America. None of the Washington insiders resents that contention more than the members of Congress, who insist that their duties indeed, their political survival-require them to know what is on the minds of their constituents. As evidence, they point to their recesses as a time when they renew contact with the folks in their home districts. While many of the legislators actually use the work break for personal vacationing or global junketing, an impressive number do get around their regions and interrogate the voters about their views and their gripes.

As TIME correspondents last week followed some 14 Congressmen and Senators around their home districts, it was clear that many people who took the trouble to see their legislators did so out of special concerns, like seeking help to untangle some federal red tape. Yet also apparent was a more general worry about inflation and energy and the ability of Congress and the Carter Administration to deal with the two problems. There was not much talk about Carter or his recent actions. Ordinary problems were what worried ordinary people. The range of complaints and criticisms was illustrated by the travels and travails of a sampling of legislators:

▶ Democratic Congressman Albert Gore Jr., the Harvard-educated son of Tennessee's former Senator, drove through towns with names like Pleasant Shade and Goose Horn, some of them consisting of only a few houses and stores surrounded by ripening tobacco and tassling cornfields. Goats climbed on rocky outcroppings, and vultures swooped down on dead animals. Gore stopped to talk to five people in Eagleville. Said Linda Vincion. the city recorder "I'd like to know why you voted as you did on busing." Gore. who had voted against a constitutional amendment to ban busing, explained that while busing is not always the best way to desegregate schools, he felt that such issues should not be resolved by tampering with the Constitution In nearby Farmington, a dozen people, men in overalls and mothers with children, perched on stools in an empty grocery store as Gore greeted them. An 11-year-old boy asked the Congressman's opinion of Big Oil, and a grocer complained that the commodities

market was being manipulated.

About two dozen people strolled past a quartet of toothless old men outside Cothern's General Store in Riddleton to



Congressman Albert Gore Jr. greets a constituent in his Tennessee district

meet Gore inside the combination grocery store-post office-lending library. Bill Cothern. 30, the store's proprietor, protested the inflation. "How is the common man going to make it?" he asked. "The prices of stuff on my shelves is climbing. It's just diagnosting. How much longer can lib just diagnosting. How much longer can ing how many in his small audience faivored wage-and-price controls. All but two raised their hands.

Field shortages were most on the minds of some three dezen people who engaged Gore in a lively discussion at a school in William and the school in Field and armore to get enough fuel this fall to harvest our copes. A long-haired, bearded farmer, Jeff Poppen, wanted to know. "If they build this nuclear plant down here in Hartwille are we going to be able to ed. "The question is, do we want to live ed. "The question is, do we want to live



Senator Tsongas at town meeting Harwich knows how the winds blow.

the life-style we are used to living or do we want to go back 100 years?"

Republican James Leach drove out into the cornfields in his district in southeastern Iowa. He stopped at the home of Merle Glenney, who coaxed the Congressman into a pickup truck for a tour of his farm Glenney urged Leach to seek lower inheritance taxes on farms that pass from one generation to another. He said the price of land is as high upp of 30 can can rately buy a farm and those who inherit one, as his son Dwight will one day, are hurt by heavy taxes.

Getting out of the truck. Glenney led Loach into a barn. The farmer pointed to a battered 1955 International Harvester tractor. "See this tractor," he said "I bought that for 53.600 when corn was selling for \$3 a bable. Now this here new one," he said, indicating a bright green and yellow John Deere, "coss \$30.000, and I bought that on \$2 corn. That's what I mean by the squeeze." Leach was duly impressed. "I'm glad to get some of these things off my chest." Glenney said.

each's shoes still bore dirt from Glen-ney's fields, when, wearing a blue suit and yellow shirt, he faced some 30 people seated on yellow plastic chairs in a bank basement in tiny Columbus Junction. Complained one farmer: "Everything that comes out of Washington these days violates the American free-enterprise system." The farmer said the problem could partly be countered by abolishing the income tax on corporations. Replied Leach wryly: "That is a unique and thoughtful approach, but I doubt whether it would be widely embraced." At several stops, Leach asked for a show of hands on whether the Federal Government should help the ailing Chrysler Corp. in its financial troubles. Insisted an insurance man in the town of Washington. "They should have the same right to

#### Nation

go broke as I do." Nevertheless, the vote there was 18 to 10 in favor of a federal loan guarantee for Chrysler

▶ Democratic Senator Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts was pleasantly surprised by the turnout of some 250 people in a hot, stuffy school auditorium in Harwich. on Cape Cod. He caught not a single question about foreign affairs or even about next year's presidential election-despite the fact that Ted Kennedy's Hyannis Port home is only twelve miles away and I'songas has said that he might run as a standin for Kennedy in the Massachusetts Democratic primary The dominant topics. instead, were inflation and energy. What specific steps do the President and Congress plan to take about inflation? asked Selig Bernstein of Chatham. The shirt-sleeved Senator drew chuckles by replying "If I were king and I controlled the world, inflation would be easy.

Tony Austin. a Capt inherman, wantied to know whether the oil companies and the Government were celling the truth about the reasons for the high cost of oil. A woman broke in to declare: "We don't believe the Federal Government." When the crowd applauded, she added "And the oil companies are beyond the pale." Austin rejoined the dialogue, insuring If I decle oil new to \$1.25, we risherment will go broke. "Songas inswered regrid believes in Washinston.

The town's financial committee charman Sheldon Thayer said that even the upper-middle-class residents in the arcent paying 84e a gallon for fuel ail and recent paying 84e a gallon for fuel ail and voiced another recurring theme. "Beople are disgusted with big big Government On the local level, we keep rumning into state and federal regulations. We're told we can't do this, we can't do that." He by irried to set federal fluids to build a settly be tried to set federal fluids to build a settly



Congressman Conte and Jones

but was told it must first finance a study of prevailing wind directions. Complained

▶ Democrat William Gray, a black Baptist minister and Representative from Philadelphia's Second District, sat at a battered wooden desk as he talked to visitors in his blue-walled, newly renovated office. He leaned across his desk and took notes on his constituents' complaints. Four youth leaders sitting on mustard vellow chairs pleaded for more federally subsidized programs to create jobs for urban young people. Argued Curtis Jones, 22, a former West Philadelphia gang member. "It's no longer a matter of careers that young people are talking about. They are just waiting to get old enough to collect welfare. There is a hope-

Thayer "We knew which way the winds

blew, but we had to spend \$7,500 of

the taxpayers' money to find out what

sympathetic, the Congressman predicted candidly that adult unemployment in his district may rise as high as 20% and that it could soar to nearly 80% among minority young people.

As Republican Congressman Silvio O Conte worked his district in western Massachusetts. he admitted that his meetings with voters oflon depressed him "These sessions are very draining for me. and I done head right home for a doubt bourbon." he said. Yet he interned patiently his office methody of the histories of the historie

Three women from South Hadley asked Conte's support in combating hunger around the world, including an affirmative vote on a bill to set aside US grain reserves for use against famine abroad Mark Sugrue, a woodcutter, wanted more federal and state lands opened to "intelligent professional harvesting" of trees as a partial answer to energy shortages.

But the high point of Conte's day was the regular visus from Frank Jones. 86. a veteran of two wars and resident of the Hotylock Soldiers Home As always. Jones slammed his coviboy hat on the soldiers and the soldiers was provided to the soldiers and the soldiers when the soldiers when the soldiers. What the Government has done for them is nothing. Explained Jones as he left Contes office. I come in him down until he gives me what I want just to get rid of me. Just like water on stone, water on stone, water on stone, water on stone.

Democratic Congressman Morris Udall sat for three hours in a stark, barewalled community center in a Mexican-American section of Tueson, hearing out the residents of the neighborhood, most of them poor. They, too, were worried about the high cost of fuel Late in the afternoon, two of them presented their own ideas of what might be done, on a small scale, to reduce the problem. First, an elderly white-haired man, trembling with Parkinson's disease, spread frayed and crumpled papers on the table in front of Udall. They contained his rough proposal for a steam engine that could power an automobile Pleaded the petitioner "I only need someone who can draw up the plans for me. Is there someone in the Government who can do that. Mr Udail? The Chrysler company could go into some-thing like this, you know." Udall solemnly promised to see if he could enlist the

Finally F. M. Henry, a local physicist specializing m solar energy made a strong plea for federal support of practical systems to apply solar research. Then he gave the Congressman a solar-powered music box. Udall took it outside, held it up in the receding sunlight—and the box broke into a familiar tune. You Are M. Sturskine.



Philadelphia's Congressman Gray meeting voters on Chestnut Hill
"Who is touching these kids? No one. We put them behind bars."

#### Cops on Trial

Law and disorder

Philadelphia police last year arrested Cornell Warren. 26, for reckless driving, culfed his hands behind his back and took him to headquarters. Along the way, Warren suddenly dashed down the street, with Patrolinan Thomas Boaked down the street, with Patrolinan Thomas Boaked Good Coles behind in the Sculle that followed. Coles behind in the Sculle that followed and the street with the street of the street with the street of the street with the street of the st

Every year according to the U.S. Justice Department, the Philadelphia police shoot an average of 75 people, which conributes heavily to the force's image as one of the toughest in the nation. This reputation is a source of pride to Mayor Frank RIZO. who was a copy for 25 years (On a vest to that you 107 years) with a constant of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the control of the control of the table of the control of the control of the control of the control of the table of the control of the table of the control of the control of the control of the control of the table of the control of the table of the control of

Last week, in an unprecedented civil rights suit filed in federal district court in Philadelphia, the Justice Department accused Rizzo of pursuing just that kind of policy. The 28-page complaint charges the mayor, other top officials of the city and its 7.866-officer police department with following "procedures which result in widespread, arbitrary and unreasonable physical abuse or abuse which shocks the conscience." The suit accuses officers of systematically beating handcuffed prisoners, unjustifiably shooting unarmed suspects. "inflicting disproportionate abuse upon black persons and persons of Hispanic origin," and failing to investigate complaints of brutality

Philadelphia's barbaric police practices were first exposed in detail in a Pulitzer-prizewinning series of articles published by the Philadelphia Inquirer. The newspaper reported, for example, that during interrogations at police headquarters, suspects were routinely handcuffed to metal chairs, questioned for as long as 24 hours and often beaten The officers sometimes were careful to leave no bruises one technique was to cushion a suspect's head with a phone book and hammer it with a heavy object. But on other occasions, the newspaper reported, officers beat suspects with lead pipes, blackjacks, brass knuckles, handcuffs, chairs and table legs. At times, other suspects were forced to watch the beatings through one-way windows and told by officers that they would get the same treatment if they

In addition, an independent Philadelphia watchdog organization reports that 147 citizens died in police shootings between 1971 and 1978: according to Rizzo. 13 officers have been killed in the line of duty since 1971. The Justice Department in the past five years has investigated 210.

complaints of police brutality in Philadelphia. Last year a delegation of the city's black leaders pleaded with then Attorney General Griffin Bell to take stronger action. On his orders, the department's Civil Rights Division opened an investigation that continued for eight months, culminating in last week's suit.

The Justice Department has asked the court to cut off Philadelphia from all federal funds until the police department improves its behavior. While the suit does not document the charges with specific incidents of abuse, the Government lawyers say they are armed with 1.500 allegations of police brutality if the case should go to trial.

Most likely it will not, even though Philadelphia's top officials insisted that



Philadelphia police in action last year
"Abuse which shocks the conscience."

they look forward to their day in court. They claimed that the suit was a blatant attempt by the Carter Administration to win support among blacks. Rizo reacted with typical bravado. "Hogwash" he bellowed. "This is an absolute outrage. We want to go to court."

Last fall. however. Philadelphians voted 2 to 1 against changing the city charter so that Rizzo could run for a third term one of the main issues was police brutality. As a result, before the suit can be tried Philadelphia will have a new mayor. Both major party candidates to succeed Rizzo have vowed to reform power to be suited to the result of the

#### **Big-Car Blues**

Nobody loves a gas hog

or years, the great American promise was not a chicken in every pot but a big car in every garage. No more With fuel prices edging into three digits, buyers have been thinking less about class and more about gas As a result, car lots are clonged with 2 million unsold autos, many of them yesterday's glamorous grants and dealers have become desperate

In Andover Mass an agency has been groung free \$5.500 Cheeveltes to buyers of \$18.000 Cadillac Eldorado Biarritzes. In San Francisco, a dealer has advertised Dodge vans at a penny above the Chrysler-Plymouth agency offreed car buyers a minimum trade-in allowance for anything on four wheels Said the firm ads. LETS MAKL A DIAP! MOILT IT IS \$100. When the said to the firm in the Said Consonline Sai

Some sellers of used big cars are faring even worse. In Atlanta. Pat and Karen Meagher first advertised their 1977 Cougar XR-7 for \$5.000 last April, then reduced the price twice. down to \$3.995. Still no takers. Said Karen: "We are making payments on the car. We can't afford to give it away."

M any owners are doing just that-to charities in exchange for tax deductions. Boston's Morgan Memorial used to receive one car a year. Now it is taking in at least one a day, and frequently two or three. The cars are mostly large cars like Oldsmobiles and Buicks, which the charity sells for nominal sums. usually about \$200 It is not complaining. Said Spokeswoman Elaine Lewis: "It takes a lot of used clothing to bring in \$200." One of Los Angeles' Salvation Army divisions. which is housed in a former Ford factory, accepted eleven gift cars one week including a 1941 Cadillac and a 1970 Coupe de Ville with power steering, power windows and power brakes. The latter was owned by a middle-aged doctor, who walked in one morning and asked General Supervisor Richard Hilt "Do you want this car?" Recalled Hilt "When I said yes, he gave me the keys and a check for \$100

Some less charitable owners are leaving their cars in high-crime neighborhoods in hopes that the gas hogs will be for them. In Buston, and their street in the control of their street in the months of this year were up 44% year. We will street in the months of this year were up 44% year to the period last year. In New York City, pelice estimate that one-third was the period that year. In New York City, pelice estimate that one-third at the same time, police believe that owners of flush-efficient cars should take extra precautions against theses. Said New York City Detective Philip Crepeau the market is deep, the three year when the market is deep, the three year when the market is deep, the three year when the properties of the period of the period

#### **Americana**

#### Elvis Rocks Again

Since Elvis Presley's death two years ago, fins have flocked to Memphis to pay their respects and take home souvenir T shirts. records, statuettes and posters. Now Memphis Dry Cleaner William Carwile is trying to clean up on a new relicion of the old burial block.

After Presley's body was moved in a mew grave on the grounds of his grounds of his channel and estate. Carwile bought 1.75 tions first stonb. Carwile bought 1.75 tions that gray marble that lined the rock staff first stonb. Carwile had the marble cut in the 44000 channel measuring 2 in. by 1 in. and last week. on the anniversary of the presley's death, announced he would self the fragments for \$80 each. The scheme might sound like monumental bud taste meght sound like monumental bud taste might sound like monumental bud taste wite. "Tid field guilty if I didn't share this with the fam:"



In December, the Treasury Department made a sartling announcember ment made a sartling announcember more than \$1 min worth of gold had disappeared from the same state of the

For months, federal agents questioned to effects 82 employees and combed the building for clues. They determined the building for clues. They determined much of the missing gold might have been lost during the refining process—some of it undoubtedly went up the chimney in smake—but they could not rule out the possibility of their With 4,100 c.of gold still missing, the department has now active the could not rule bettom line is that they pack could not tell bettom line is that they pack could not tell what happened?





#### A Fine Flap

Many a man has been corrupted by fine feathered friends, but one of the issues in the breakup of Robert, and Darnothea Curley's marriage must be unique.
Donothea, 38, filed for divorce in Chicago after 18 years of marriage, three children and, at last count, 35 dueks. During
a support hearing, she complained that
the dueks her husband kept as pets upset
the neighbors with their noise and unitidy

A sympathetic judge issued a court order for the removal of the birds in May But last week Robert. 41, a former Chicago cop, told the judge that when he tried to give them to friends, there were no takers. Dorothea testified that her estranged husband actually had not tried very hard to get rid of the ducks and had been showing up at the house daily to feed them. Added her lawyer: "There are still 35 of them, and that doesn't include the duckling that got stepped on by the family dog and died." Robert's attorney. Leon Jumes. said of his client: "It's against his nature to destroy these ducks." The judge sen-tenced Robert to seven days in jail for contempt of court but stayed the punishment for a week, giving him one more chance to get quacking

#### **Name Calling**

For 16 years, the Library of Congress has incorrectly listed British Author Harry Patterson's first name as "Henry," Finally, one of his U.S. publishers, Stein & Doy, asked the library to set the record straight, Replied Ben Tucker, Chief ord straight, Replied Ben Tucker, Chief Descriptive Cartiloging on the property of the property

Tucker explained that under the ab-

struse cataloguing rules adopted by the library in 1967, authors are listed by the 'name used predominantly' in their works, no matter what their real name may be Stein has published two novels under the name Harry Patterson, while other U.S. publishing houses have produced at least 17 books by Jack Higgins. Thus Stein lost the name game. Moreover, said Tucker, if Stein & Day did not go along with the verdict, the firm could be excluded from the library's cataloguing program. "The bureaucratic mind gone mad," sputtered Publisher Sol Stein in an angry letter of appeal to Librarian of Congress Daniel Boorstin. "I beg you to stop the flow of bureaucratic idiocy

#### A Star Is Born

"Who the hell is Rulis Lenska?" The question was first asked on the air by Detroit TV News Anchorman Don Lark, then echoed in print by Washington Post Columnist Roger Resemblatt. She is, as many TV watchers know, a glamorous redhead who appears regularly in commercials for Alberto VOS hair spray. She tosses her long locks, identifies herself as



R-u-ula Lenz-z-zka and speaks of herself as though she were a famous actress. But, as the newscaster asked, who is she?

Chicago de de la companya del companya de la companya de la companya del companya de la companya del companya de la companya del companya de la companya del companya dela companya del companya del companya del companya del companya de

In London. "The Fair One." as she is known to her U.S. fans. confesses to be "stunned and astonished" by her unexpected fame but more procecupied with the imminent birth of her first child. Lew-is urged fans to "name the nipper." The winners Octavia and Llewellyn.

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#### **Economy & Business**

COVER STORY

## To Set the Economy Right

#### The rising rebel cry for less Government, more incentive and investment

bobdy is apt to look back on the 1970s as the good old days. The conomy's most disruptive decade since the Great Depression has borne the stagflation contradiction of no growth amid campaging inflation, the can't do trauma of receding productivity in the nation that was long the world's cornucopia, the reality of an energy shortage in the land of supposedly boundless resources, and the debauch of a dollar that once was "as good as gold."

Economists, proud and powerful in the 1960s, now look like Napoleon's generals decamping from Moscov. Their past prescriptions

Moscow Their past prescriptions—
lax tinkering and Government deficit spending to prop up demand, wage and price guidelines to hold down inflation—have been as help-ful as snake oil. "Things just do not work now as they used to." says former Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns, and who can contradict him? The U.S. economy, bloated and immobilized, has been turned topsy-turny.

Yet a revisionist group of economists, eclectic and unorthodox, is on the rise, and they have provocative views about what has mucked up the economy and how to start fixing it. These academics, still in their 30s or early 40s, admit to many more questions than answers and are sometimes unfairly dismissed by their more traditionalist colleagues as "N.C.s" (Neanderthal Conservatives). Hardly Neanderthal, they are instead moderate, pragmatic economists of the late 1970s who are bringing fresh air. and fresh hope, to the dismal science. Says

Rudolph Penner, head of tax-policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute: "The exciting ideas are now coming from the under-40 crowd, and they are saying that Government is not efficient."

That heresy shakes the almost reverential respect accorded by the profession to Britain's late John Maynard Keynes, the century's most influential economist. The belief of Keynes's disciples that governments often could manage economic affairs as efficiently and effectively as free markets themselves has been rejected by the accumulating research of the new economists.

Still undergraduates when Keynesianism was flourishing in the late 1950s and the 1960s, the new economists are

now professors in their own right at universities around the country Among them: Martin Feldstein, 39, of Harvard, who is the leading thinker in the group: Robert Lucas, 41, of the University of Chicago, Michael Boskin, 33, of Stanford, Rudiger Dornbusch, 37, and Stanford, Rudiger Dornbusch, 37, and Stanfey Fischer, 35, both of M.I.T.; as well as many, many others.

The new group represents what might be termed the rubber band school of eco-

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nomics—what the profession itself calls "clasticity." The sensible notion is that people respond to the specific incentives of price and supply and that, given the right incentives, the market itself is better equipped than the Government to bring about lower prices and more supplies of what people want and need.

The economists argue that instead of providing the right incentives, government policy has been coming up with all the wrong ones. They assert that Government has motivated Americans to spend too much and save too little They charge that federal tax, budget and most consumption instead of investment for the future. Their fundamental warning, America has been living off and eating

into, its capital stock. Many of its factories and machines have become outmoded, its old industrial cities have become rundown, its work force has become less productive; real growth has sawing low while demand has remained high. The nation is, in short, losing its economic edge in the world, and the hour is late—very

The price that every American pays for these failures is a decade-long infla-

tion that is the most pernicious price spiral since the Korean War. and certainly the most alarming one in the nation's history. Because competitiveness and efficiency have declined, and productivity growth. that most basic yardstick for measuring a nation's economic vitality, has slowed, the real cost of producing goods has jumped. Meanwhile, to keep demand up, the Government has created money and credit at far faster rates than businessmen can turn out products and services. The result: too much money chasing too few goods, which is a classic inflation. Largely because of the rapid expansion of money. the average household income is more than twice as much as it was ten years ago, or \$16,100. Yet because of inflation, real purchasing power is up only 11%, and for millions of Americans it is now only the second income from a working wife that enables families to make ends meet

Inflation has spread a financial virus of unwanted dollars to the economies of the nation's trading partners, turning the once mighty

greenback into the sick man of international finance. Since 1970, some 5650 biltional finance. Since 1970, some 5650 biltion has piled up in so-called Eurodollari accounts in bands overseas, and the threat pede to sell their dollars. Since 1971, mitipanics have led to the collapse of worldwide fixed exchange rates against gold and other precuises metalts, and the fidence in the dollar itself.

The Federal Reserve Board over the years has jumped back and forth capriciously from tightening the nation's money supply in an effort to slow inflation. to running the printing presses full blast when the economy seemed in need of a lift. But its new chairman, Paul Volcker, seems committed to a more consistent and tougher policy. Last week the Fed lifted its discount rate, the amount that it charges for loans to commercial banks from 10% to a record 101/4, suggesting that even in the face of a business slowdown the board is at last determined to halt the excessive expansion of money and credit.

That would be a welcome development because it is reasonable to wonder just how much more inflation the U.S. can safely absorb. A nation that hardly noticed when prices inched up, on average, little more than 19 a year during the 1950s and early 1960s, now endures such rises every month. The jarring discovery that the prudent no longer save for tomorrow but spend their dollars as soon as they get them has shaken not only the American economy but also the American psyche Since 1970, the U.S. has become a nation of spendthrifts, and the personal-saving rate has slipped from 7.4% to 5.2% of aftertax income, the lowest



Stanford's Michael Boskin shows some evidence—and causes—of U.S. lag

ory for productivity or inflation. It is only the new generation of Ph.D.s from the end of the 1960s onward who are asking these questions." On the other hand, the solutions they propose will hardly be easy Among the recommendations:

Adopt consistent, year-after-year policies of moderate monetary growth so that inflation will be held back and people can plan ahead intelligently.

· Give long-term tax incentives to encourage saving and investment by individuals, entrepreneurs and companies.

· Avoid quickie tax cuts or fiddling with the federal deficit to stimulate consumer spending, and work instead to balance the hudget

Reduce Government spending, in particular so-called uncontrollables such as social and pension programs that are

and 1950s just did not have a decent the- | committed by previous acts of Congress to rise and rise; by cutting spending, more money, more of the nation's capital will be made available to job-creating private businesses.

Soften or scrap wasteful and production-retarding Government regulations that devour capital but produce no wealth. Restrict Government's overall role in the economy in order to enhance personal incentive

Above all, stimulate increased supply and production instead of increased demand and consumption.

The case for more consistency and less short-term meddling reflects the spreading awareness that efforts to manage effectively a complex \$2.3 trillion economy is hopelessly beyond any government's power. Admits one of the new economists. Thomas Sargent. 36, of the University of



Harvard's Martin Feldstein and his data

among all industrial nations. The saving slump, which starves investment and feeds consumption, reflects the inflationary attitude of "buy it now" or, worse, "borrow to buy it now." Whatever "it" is will probably cost more tomorrow

The new economists have no mononoly on accurate diagnoses of the inflation malady. Economists everywhere agree that excessive federal spending, too rapid expansion of money, too much costly regulation by Government have been among the primary causes. But many of the experts admit to being puzzled about possible cures. This bafflement is not shared by the new economists. Observes former Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal: "Economists from the 1940s



Talking about taxes, U.S.C.'s Arthur Laffer makes a point with his provocative curve The under-40 crowd is bringing fresh air, and fresh hope, to the dismal science.

#### **Economy & Business**

Minnesota: "We just don't have the kinds of detailed knowledge to fine-tune the economy. We are further from that goal than we were ten years ago."

Just as forcefully, the new economists argue that the Government can and should come up with specific programs to bring more goods and services to market. letting competition curb the price spiral. Economist Jerry Jasinowski, 40, Assistant Commerce Secretary for Policy, is one of many who believe that boosting supply is the only long-term antidote to rising prices Says he: "We must admit openly that manipulation of demand via public expenditure taxes and control over credit does not get to the heart of the problems of the 1970s and 1980s. The source of these problems lies not with the ability to consume but with the capacity to produce.

The unsettling ideas of the incentive conomists are becoming a new orthodoxy in much of Government. Last week the congressional bipartisan Joint Economic Committee issued a grave warmle in its midyaer report unless major improvements are made in expanding the saving and investment in order to lift preductivity, the nation will face a drastically declining standard of living in the 1980s. Inflation will push prices up to almost incredible levels—\$5.80 for a gallon of gasoline, \$2.06 for a loaf of bread—even as unemployment, itself stays high. But, wrote Chairman Lloyd Bentsen, the Demcratic Senator from Texas, "this committee believes we can and we must produce our way out of our economic problems."

egislative and Administration leaders are pressing new policies to enhance production and supply New Treasury Secretary G. William Miller, among many others, urges faster depreciation-that is, bigger tax write-offs for business spending on factories and tools-to spur capital investment in expansion, modernization and automation. Last year's passage of a version of the Steiger Amendment to reduce capital-gains taxes and stimulate investment has boosted venture capital (the money that investors risk on new businesses) by 1.000%. To shift still more money into investments. Senate Finance Chairman Russell Long and House Ways and Means Chairman Al Ullman champion lower taxes on capital, profits and personal income, and correspondingly

Support is also building for proposals

by Long and many other legislators to reduce income taxes on interest from bank accounts to encourage people to save inseed of spend Dollars put into assing are reinvested by banks in wealth-creating the properties of the provides globs but also slows rising prices by stimulating production. On the other hand, money spent on end-use consumer terms, such as a corr or TV. Duys just one

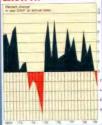
The incentive economists, and even many of their older, more traditional peers urge the scrapping of outmoded and costly Government regulations and programs that amount to little more than selfinflicted wounds on the economy. Not only do they often aggravate inflation and reduce productivity, but they frequently produce results that their well-intentioned authors never envisioned. Some of the programs have been around since the New Deal and have become patent sops for special interest groups. The nation needs more food, and at lower prices, but federal price-propping subsidies last year paid farmers some \$2.2 billion in supports: and almost one-third of that was payments not to plant crops at all. The nation desperately requires all the domestic

#### INFLATION

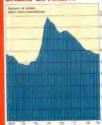


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#### **Economy & Business**

oil and gas it can find, but the Government's five-year-old mishmash of domestic price controls encourages Americans to burn more oil and U.S. oil companies to do their exploring in other countries.

Some of the more recent regulations make the Government look like a neurotic nanny Just one example, federal health rules require hospitals to use plastic liners for wastebaskets, but Government safety rules ban their use as fire hazards. Says Charles Schultze, chief White House conomic adviser. "We have to regulate with more rationality and semisivity. The major problem of Government management over the next 20 years will be management of the regulatory

Making economic sense out of Government's tax policies is a paramount concern of the incentive economists. One of the best known, and certainly most flamboyant, of them is the University of Southern California's Arthur Laffer, 39, creator of the "Laffer Curve," which he sketched on a napkin after dinner at the Two Continents restaurant in Washington, D.C. The curve illustrates that after a certain level is reached, tax increases do not raise Government revenues but actually lower them Reason higher taxes discourage people from working or investing to earn more money since the Government simply takes it away. Conversely, lower taxes encourage people to work harder and earn more, leading to higher revenues. Thus the best way to increase Government income -- as well as productivity, investment and general wealth-is to hold taxes low.

The incentive economists also urge predictability and stability in Government monetary policy. The University of Minnesota, home of Liberal Walter Heller, and the University of Chicago, where Milton Friedman did pioneering work in monetarist theory, have lately produced one money-oriented branch of the new economists, the "rational expectations" group Their thesis if politicians promise to cut inflation but pursue policies that just make prices rise faster, the people eventually will get the message and act on the rational assumption that inflation will keep increasing Recognizing that savers are suckers, citizens will just spend their money as soon as they get it. Thus, in order to increase savings, the Government's wisest course would be to keep the growth of money consistently low. Pcople then would rationally expect inflation to diminish and, acting on that belief. would save and invest.

The intellectual leader of the young conomists at Harvard's Feldstein, a soft-spoken family man from The Bronx, whose looks and middle-class background and mannerisms call to mind a beniga dentist While most of this peers ermain actions of the peers ermain actions of the peers of the peers

ing a regression equation for a computer program or testifying to a congressional committee, which he often does, Both political parties agent's seek his counsel He was an adviser to Jimmy Carter's '76 campaign, turned down a bid to join Gerald Ford's Council of Economic Advisers. and is often spoken of as a future CEA chairman, probably in a Republican Administration.

Along with the other incentive economent is trying to do too many things that it either cannot do efficiently or that people can do better for themselves That. of course. is a direct affront to Keynesian doctrine. Beginning in the mid-1930s. Establishment pillars of the dismal science. what happened Even modest increases in consumer demand would bring quick jumps in output. So productive were U.S plants and factories that they not only filled the needs of the nation's domestic market but also deluged the world with material abundance.

Between 1889 and 1970, the nation

ran a trade deficit only once, in the midst of the Depression, in 1935 Yet since 1971, the combination of low productivity and high inflation has reduced both the supply and the competitiveness of U.S. products. Consequently, export growth has been sluggish, and foreign goods have poured into the U.S. at an ever increasing rate. Coupled with the nation's in-creasing dependence on foreign oil, this



have propagated Keynes' captivating notion that governments could tame beastby economies, making them stand up and jump through hoops. His prescription succeeded in lifting Western countries out of the 1930s Depression that had been triggered by an almost complete collapse in demand both in the U.S. and in Europe Keynes' idea was simple enough if peoples were so farmed on the Europe people were so farmed to the pump by doing much of the spending itself.

There were shortcomings and pitfalls, little recognized when Keynesianism was flourishing a decade and more ago. One shortcoming was the Keynesian assumption that supply would simply take care of itself once demand was stimulated. So long as inflation stayed low, that is in fact

has meant that the U.S has managed to eke out a trade surplus only twice since 1971, running up a cumulative deficit of \$59 billion in those years

Meanwhile, shortages have begun turning up everywhere. Aluminum is in short supply, and such companies as Boeing and McDonnell Douglas must place their orders far in advance to have enough on hand to meet aircraft delivery schedules Metalworking machinery is also scarce, as are the steel forgings needed by automakers. That, in turn, has helped create shortages of small, fuel-efficient cars, and boosts imports of competing foreign models. There is even a squeeze on fans for people who want to save money by turning off air conditioners, and shortages of insulation for homeowners who are eager to cut winter fuel bills

True. Keynes argued that excessive demand and price rises could be countered by reversing the cycle—that is, by codeling government spending. But that in the spend-and-spend, elect-and-elect politicians of a democracy. Apostles of Keynes contended that to maintain the proper level of demand, the Government regularly had to "fine-time" the contended that the maintain the that the second of the contended that the maintain the things of the contended that the maintain the things of the contended that the maintain the things of the contended that the maintain the maintain that the contended that the maintain the maintain that the maintain

#### **Economy & Business**

maybe both at once. As Feldstein puts it, the nonstop jiggling and juggling amounted to "an embellishment of Keynes beyond anything that he had claimed."

he reckoning came with Viet Nam. Lyndon Johnson's Keynesian economic advisers warned him not to finance both the war and his cherished Great Society programs without asking for a tax increase, but he refused to take the unpopular step until the control of the

capacity. Result: inflation leaped from 2.1% in 1965 to 6% in 1969.

No quick fixes have lastingly slowed the spiral Temporary cuts in Government spending, coupled with a tight rein on monetary growth, as Richard Nixon tried in 1969, brought on recession and aggravated unemployment, but inflation stayed strong. Freezing wages and prices, as Nixon did in 1971, merely built up pressure for huge price increasts later on

The period from 1975 to the spring of 1979, when the third recession of the decade probably began, is often called "the longest peacetime expansion in U.S. history." Some expansion! Unemploy-

ment stands at almost 6%, and to keep the rate from climbing even higher than its 1975 recession peak of nearly 9%, both the Ford and Carter Administrations have had to stuff the people's pockets with almost as much inflationary funny-money, in the form of Government deficit spending, as was generated in all of World West 11.

Inflation has, of course, been seriously aggravated by a host of outside or "exogenous" factors that lie beyond the power of economists to control They cannot be held accountable for poor grain harvests, such as occurred in 1972, for the harsh winters of 1977 and 1978, or for

#### **Doctor's Prescriptions**

anybody who calls for hold-downs in Social Security benfits. Medicare, food stamps and other social programs would seem to be as charitable as Simon Legree. But even Keynesians tend to agree that Martin Feldstein is the standout economist of his agreeration, though they dissent strongly from some of his starboard views. By vote of his peers two years ago, he won the John Bates Clark Award, given beninally to the nation's most distinguished economist under 40. Earlier recipients include. Nobel Laureause Milton Friedman, Paul Samuelson and Kenneth Arrow.

Million Friedman, Paus Samuen Feldstein is also the president of the National Bureau of Economic Research, a job once held by, among others, former Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns He splits his time between running that A-graded histik (ank and teaching graduate commonts, a year of the common of the com

with Economist Wife Kathleen and their two daughters, 7 and 9. Feldstein set out to become not an economist but a doctor.

to Oxford on a 1961 Fulbright fellowship to study Britain's national health system; he figured that the U.S. would soon copy it, and he wanted to learn from the British mistakes. He caught the economics bug, as well as an acute case of Keynesianism, and stayed on to take a Ph.D.

He moved to Harvard and gradually drifted away from Keynes as he studied the impact of government spending programs on human behavior. In an interview with TIME Economies Correspondent George Taber, he capsuled his philosophy: "I do not begin from the ideological position that government activity is inherently bad because it limits individual freedom. Instead, I criticize government policies because they simply do not work or because they has been because they simply do not work or because they has been excluded the second of the second of the second representation of the second of the second of the second representation of the second of the second of the second representation of the second of the second of the second representation of the second of the second of the second of the real second of the second of the second of the second of the second representation of the second of the second of the second of the second representation of the second of the second of the second of the second representation of the second of the

His studies have convinced Feldstein that the food-stamp program has compounded welfare dependency, that Medicare and Medicaid have led to unnecessary hospital stays and tests, thus aggravating the inflation of medical costs. His prescription is not to end these programs now that they exist but to curb their runaway costs and make them function more efficiently. Example to prevent Medicare and Medicaid patients from bithely agreeing to undergo costly and wasteful tests by doctors. Feldstein argues that program recipients should have to pay at least a portion of their medical bills. That way, patients have the incentive to hold the costs down.

Much of Feldstein's research concentrates on tax policy and the problems of capital investment. He argues that the fast increase of Social Security benefits must be slowed because the system acts as an enormous vacuum cleaner, which sucks money out of the pockets of individual workers who

would otherwise put at least some of it in the bank for retirement. Instead, the money goes directly to people who are already retired or to the disabled, and they immediately spend it. Thus almost one of these billions are saved by anyone, to be lent out by banks to build homes and factories and create jobs.

create jobs.

Equally provocative are Feldstein's ideas for tax reform. Inflation pushes almost every-body into higher tax brackets, and so people who get pay raises often wind up with less real income than before. To prevent this unfairness. Feldstein calls for

"indexing" the tax rates so that an earner will not move up to a higher bracket unless his in-

come jumps by more than the annual inflation rate. Feldstein adds that indexing also should be applied to capital gainst saxes. the levy on the increased value of prorty when it is old. Says he: "Inflation distorts all algority when it is old. Says he "Inflation distorts all around a contract of personal income, but it is particularly harsh on the taxtun of capital gainst Manyi individuals pay substantial capital contracts of the contract of

The common thread through all of Feldstein's recommendations is that the private marketoplese is a far more efficient distributor of resources and regulator of prices than the government. Says he: "The younger economists are willing to admit the impotence of economic policy to solve many of the nation's problems. I was part of a generation of graduate students who looked to economic models to solve our problems and tell us what government policy should be. But the economy is constantly changing, and we are always running a little bit behind."



Before medical school, he went Feldstein family free-marketeering with Monopoly

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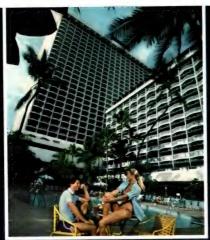
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# **Economy & Business**

the weather of last year that cut into harvests in the citrus belt. Government economists also argue that price gouging by foreign oil producers is exogenous. True, but only partly so. Not only did inflation in the industrial countries encourage the 13-nation OPIC carrel to quintuple its U.S. price spiral provides the carrel with its only excuse for raising its prices still higher.

When demand turns slack and unemployment shoots up, Keynesianism can still play an important role. But now the economic pendulum has swung from underutilization of capacity to overstraining of productive resources, and policies aimed at further firing consumer demand without simultaneously increasing investment and supply have become about as useful as Gerald Ford WIN buttons. Says Feldstein: "It is a much more complex world than Keynes or anyone else admits. and it is constantly changing. We know enough to move the economy out of a trough but not to control the business cycle

Observes Bruce MacLaury, president of the Brookings Institution, which is no longer quite the hotbed of Keynesianism that it once was. "It has been hard for the Keynesians to contend that their prescriptions are the way out of stagflation. When the stage of the stagflation is the stage of t

Not only in the U.S., but in countries as disparate as 5rt. Lanke, Canada and Algeria, there is an attraction to the new incentive conomics. Among developing nations, those that have prospered most have had the freest, most market-orient-ed economies. Slingapore, Taiwan and South Korea, among others. In industrial Europe, incentive economics is making particularly rapid progress.

particularly rapid progress:

In France, Premier Raymond Barre is scrapping much of the policy, which dates back to Louis XIV. that the government should determine the amount of investment and fix prices. Controls on goods from bread to books, from steel to care which control more than 25% of France's economy, have been instructed to operate as if they were private enterprises by relying less on subsidies and making a determined effort to turn a profit.

hinds eleot to turn a profit.

In Britain, Margaret Thatcher's Tryr government was swept into office in May as the profit of the state of the state

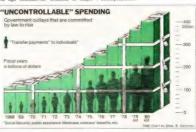
▶ In West Germany, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt Secial Democratic government, supported by powerful but reasonable trade unions. has largely held a noninterventionist course and ignored demands that the government cut taxes or raise spending every time a troubling economic forceast is issued. Result. West Germany's inflation rate is one-third as steep as the US's, its unemployment rate is only slightly over half as high, and the country's living standards are rising.

The economies of Europe and Japan already benefit from government programs that encourage saving. While Americans save little more than a nickel of every dollar of take-home pay. the Japanese save 20% or more, in part because they have no well-developed system of social welfare and must provide for their old age themselves. Citizens of major

ator John Danforth to exempt up to a more modest \$400 in interest income if the money is reinvested in either stocks or saving.

In the U.S., it will take years to reduce inflation's bloat, revive productivity and restore real growth. More and more evidence is accumulating that a slow and persistent effort is the best hope for turning the economy around.

I would be tempting to try to fight unemployment by temporarily increasing federal deficit spending and hoping that merely shoveling more money out to consumers would encourage companies to thire workers and expand production. But the 1970s proved that such erratic pumping-up policies only inflate the economy without significantly reducing unemployment.



Western European countries, which have more substantial social welfare programs, save from 13% to 17% of their disposable income anyway.

A big stimulus to saving in Europe and in Japan is government tax policy, which exempts at least some interest income from taxation or offers premiums to savers. In the U.S., interest is sometimes considered "unearned" and taxed at higher than normal rates. Yet in France, savers can deposit up to \$9,600 and receive the maximum 6.5% interest tax-free. In West Germany, couples earning up to \$26,300 can put up to \$900 in a six-year term account and earn not only 4.5% but also receive a tax-free government bonus payment amounting to 14% of the deposit. In Japan, savers do not have to pay taxes on interest from deposits of up to \$65,000

More than 50 bills have already been introduced in Congress to give Americans similar inducements. Most proposals focus on exempting income in varying amounts up to \$4,090, though the greatest support seems to be building behind a Republican-backed bill by Missouri Sen-

A basic reason, say Feldstein and other incentive economists, is that much of the unemployment problem has become structural, that is, deeply imbedded and immune to quick fixes. More than half of the nation's 6 million unemployed-many of them blacks. Hispanics, teen-agers or poorly educated rural people-are out of work not because of a lack of jobs but because they need marketable skills. Warns Feldstein: "If we do not attack the structural causes of our high unemployment, we will face growing pressure to deny firms the right to lay off workers without Government approval, and deny those workers who lose their jobs the right to decide where and when they will return to work

Feldstein's solution is to train those work seekers, with the help of private companies, for particular jobs without inflating the whole economy. Initially, Feldstein concedes, unemployment might rise from the present 5 7% to about 8% and stay there for perhaps as long as five years. But society in general would benefit because this period of stack would reduce pressure on prices. Meanwhile, the un-

# **Economy & Business**

employed would be taken care of through existing unemployment programs.

High unemployment of course, would complicate the Government's budget problem by retarding tax revenues and raising outlays for unemployment compensation and other social programs. The new economists would counter this by renew conditions are under the properties of spending, in other areas. Their targets are notably the large number of subsidies to the employed middle class and prosperous industry, handout as varied as

farm price props, generous Civil Service retirement benefits, and subsidies for shipping lines.

In the view of the incentive econmists and an increasing number of Keynesians. long-term progress against inflation can be achieved only at the cost of short-term pain. Gains will require a long period of slow but steady growth of the money supply and a shrinking of toal Government spending as a share of the nation's output of goods and services. Economist Robert Lucas, for example, calls for limiting the growth of money or around 4% a year, lees whan half the avone of the control of the for as long as seven. That would purge the public of its assumption that the Government has no stomach for holding to a steady anti-inflationary course that would encourage saving instead of spending. But keeping money light would push up integring money light would push up instance of the control of the control stowdown and publication instinctively fear.

# Ideas from the Innovators

Abolish the corporate Income tax. Fore equitators to sitck to a budget Drive up gasoline prices to \$1 per gal. Replace the personal income tax with a tax on only expenditures. The new generation of income to monative economists has a bold diversity of ideas—and ideologies. Some of them still applied Kones, at least with one hand, but others turn thumbs down, all the other turn thumbs down, all the other turn thumbs down all the other turn thumbs down, all the other turn thumbs down, all the other turn thumbs down, all the other turns the Covernment often that the nation needs more individual incentives. A sample turns the other turns the other turns that the nation needs more individual incentives.

MICHAEL BOSKIN, 3.3. When he was an undergraduate at Berkeley in the 1960s, Boskin remembers, the young were radsolved by the second of the six beautify revened — because of the distillationment of the students of the six beautiff the second of the secon

In articles and testimony, Boskin, a Stanford professor, advocates a concise plan. Among his ideas: 1) reduce the size of federal spanding as a proportion of the Gross National Product; 2) balance the budget over the length of the business cycle, accumulating surpluses in hard times; 3) require the Federal Reverse Board (o announce a "moderate ever Board (o announce a "moderate every Board (o announce a "moderate parasion—about 5% to 6%—and sales to 11:4 eliminate the certonal income."

Under his startiling scheme, Americans no longer would pay taxes on their total income, which includes savings that are now actually subjected to double taxation (that when the money is earned and later when it draws interest or dividends). Instead, they would pay taxes on only the money they spent, thus taxes on only the money they spent, thus the money they spent, the sing impossible? Not at all, says Boskin, who adds that since interest and dividend payments also would be tax exempt. U.S. capital accumulation would

rise to new highs, thus revitalizing the

LESTER THUROW, 41. A liberal who remains a moderate Keynesian, Thurow favor its reductions to fight economic shapes of the common states of the control of the control of the control of the and price controls, both of thing on wage and price controls, both of thing on wage and price controls, both of thing of the siders unfair. Instead, Thurow, who is siders unfair. Instead, Thurow, who is siders unfair. Instead, Thurow, who is siders unfair. See the control of the control side of the control of the control of the sides and targit of the control of the control of the sides and targit of the control of the control of the sides and targit of the control of the control of the control of the sides and targit of the control of the cont

Protectionism is the heart of the productivity problem, he believes, because



resources are blocked from moving from sluggish industries to more productive ones. He favors pulling investments out of "sunset" industries and allowing them to go under, while providing generous aid and retraining programs to laid-off workers. Says Thurow: "If we cannot learn to disinvest, we cannot compete in the modern growth race."

Thurow has a radical idea for inducing Americans to invest in efficient
industries: climinate federal taxes on
corporations. Freed from taxes, the recorporations freed from taxes, the rediately double, and as a would immediately double, and as a
which to do so. To offset the loss of revenue to Washington, the shareholders
which us do so. To offset the loss of revenue to Washington, the shareholders
would by a fax on their share of the
on their dividends Even so, they would
on their dividends Even so, they would
probably ear more on their shares since

corporate profits would soar. At the same time, Thurow wants to establish a new tax system that would be more equitable than the present one. All forms of personal income, whether from wages, real capital gains, dividends or interest, would be tased at the same rate. Special provisions that enable the rich towards the provisions that enable the rich work of the provisions that the provision of the real spending power to pay the same proportion of their income in taxes.

All that, Thurow argues, would raise enough money to wipe out the federal budget deficit, thus climinating the need for feavy Government borrowing to for feavy Government borrowing to lions in capital for private up many bullions in capital for private into research and development and give incentives to emerging and necessary industries. Sind development and give incentives to emerging and necessary industries. Sind development in the private feature of the private featur

WILLIAM NORDHAUS, 38. After two years as a member of the President's Council

as a memoer of the Fro of Economic Advisers, Nordhaus has returned to his professorship at Yale with some definite ideas about what Government should and should not do in the nation's economic life. Says he: "It is critical that Govern-

critical that Government play a central role in influencing the general level of inflation, employment, investment, interest rates and the value of the dollar. But when Government begins to involve itself in the millions of details beneath the surface, it is going beyond its expertise.

Nordhaus favors a selective dismanlling of the plethora of federal tariffs, subsidies, farm props and regulations that increase consumer prices. Says he: "We are eating high-cost domestic sugar when we should be consuming lowcost imported sugar." While on the council, he argued for deregulation of Fitfully, the Government appears to be moving toward the incentive prescription. Asserts Treasury Secretary G. William Miller: For too long we have focused on consumption and have not invested enough in productive capacity. Not only is the Federal Reserve now light-ening money but federal spending as a share of gross national product has delined from 22.6% in 1976 to 21.1% currently, and President Carter aims to get it even lower in fiscal 1981.

Feldstein foresees that these developments, if they continue, would enable growth to be spurred on not by inflationary Government spending but by productive private investment. While consume buying would slow, saving and business investment would rise. In brief, the total demand in the economy would be no lower, but the mix would be different.

Ultimately, the challenge is whether the nation has the will and the determination to take the necessary hard steps. Observes a humbled Lester Thurow, one-time economic adviser to George McGovern during his 1972 presidential campaign: "When there are economic gains to be allocated, our political process can allocate them. But when there are

large economic losses to be divided up, the process is paralyzed. Unfortunately, with political paralysis comes economic paralysis."

The U.S is by no means paralyzed, but it is at a significant urning point. From Congress to the statehouses, the tax-reforming, investment-boosting, regulation-cutting, supply-expanding recommendations of incentive economics are gaining more support every day and are being increasingly translated into policies. If those beneficial trends continue, the heard of the days me the beginning of the sood new days me to the pagning of the sood new days me to the pagning of the sood new days me to the pagning of the sood new days me to the pagning of the sood new days me to the pagning of the sood new days me to the pagning of the pagnin

the airlines, which Congress bought, and called for the same thing in the trusking industry. According to his estimates, the cost to private industry of meeting the myrizal federal regulations is on "the budget—hundreds of billions of dollars budget—hundreds of billions of dollars each year." Ultimately, the bill is paid by consumers. He would restrain the regulators by requiring them to submit an annual "regulatory budget." which would put dollar figures on proposed have to approve the budget.

RUDIGER DORNBUSCH, 37. While the Keynesians can flaunt the master's classic, General Theory, and the monetarists can flourish Milton Friedman's A Monetary History of the United States, the closest that the new economists have to such a tome is a 651-page text, Macroeconomics, by Dornbusch and Stanley Fischer, 35, both professors at M.I.T. Published in 1977, it has become the largest selling advanced economics text. The authors' central thesis reflects the new economists' nagging uncertainty about the omnipotence of their own profession. They contend that the complex computer models used to predict the effects of specific economic policies or actions simply do not-and cannot-reflect the way the real world behaves. 'What will be the magnitude of reaction to a broad tax cut?" asks Dornbusch. "Will people spend the money at once? Will they wait?" His conclusion: "We don't know.

In his own specialty of international monetary policy, Dornbusch opposes the efforts of the Federal Reserve and for-



eign central banks to prop the dollar's value by buying up billions on the international money exchanges. His preference: let the dollar float freely until it reaches its real market value. Dorntooks takes mothet his summable off are the contract of the

ROBERT LUCAS, 41. The "rational expectations" economists hold that short-term policy jiggering cannot outsmart human



ingenuity, or, you can't fool all the people even some of the time. One principal in this school is Lucas of the University of Chicago. Says he: "The real amount of goods and services available cannot be manipulated effectively by short-term market interferences Such policies are based on the premise that we, the Government, can make people work harder, invest more or perform some other desired objective. But people are skeptical, so such policies do not work any more. The public has also lost confidence in the prospect of a stable policy in the future, because monetary trends have been jumping all over the place." Increases in the money supply. he asserts, merely produce more inflation, not expansion of output

Lucas proposes that the Government adopt only firm, long-term policies upon which rational expectations can be based. Says he: "Ideally, we should announce a monetary expansion policy of 4% annually for the next seven years and then stick to it. People would respond, and inflation would be cured with a minimal risk of a deep

recession.

ARTHUR LAFFER, 39. Many new economists are skeptical of "laws" or "models," but not Laffer, the irrepressibly selfconfident U.S.C. professor. The originator of the Laffer Curve also has constructed the first computer model that analyzes the effects of varying rates of taxation on the economy's "supply side." Laffer concedes that his model is still in a rudimentary stage and may contain errors. Nonetheless, on the basis of its projections, he forecasts that a 10% cut in federal personal income taxes would raise the G.N.P. by nearly 1%, increase tax revenues by \$5.5 billion, to about \$472 billion, and reduce the budget deficit by \$8.9 billion, to some \$20 billion. Says he: "We would collect less per person in each bracket, but there would be more people in the higher brackets because of increased economic

Laffer urges a constriction of wellfare programs because "we subsidize unemployment." According to his studies, engloyment." According to his studies, gelas receives as much as \$718 per month in cash, food stamps, rent salsidies and other benefits. If the manowoman gets a job paying \$1,000 monthsidies and other benefits. If the manwoman gets a job paying \$1,000 monthminism of the paying \$1,000 monthing the paying \$1,000 monthminimum-wage law so that they can take jobs for less and learn trades to the paying the payi

Laffer's flamboyant style and relatively simple solutions to complex problems put off many old and new economists alike. Liberal J. Kenneth Galbraith jokes that Laffer's Curve resembles a wishbone in shape as well as substance. Nonetheless, Laffer has imstorn with his readily understandable theory. If a deep-cut tax bill is finally passed, he will receive much credit for it.

# **Economy & Business**

# The Productivity Pinch

Productivity underpins our economic strength, and our economic strength is now being eroded and questioned The productivity slump is an American climacteric

-C Jackson Grayson Jr . chairman of the American

so robust, so deceptively healthy. From the end of World tke a man in his prime. American productivity had looked War II through the 1960s, it increased comfortably at an annual average of just over 3%. The first symptom of trouble struck in the 1970s, when gains started averaging half of that They tumbled to 1.6% in 1977 and 4% in 1978 Now that most important measure of an economy's efficiency is showing the most alarming decline. Output per hour worked in private business dropped at an annual rate of 2.8% in this year's first quarter and 3.8% in the

second quarter Only the U.S.'s highly efficient farms stopped a much more dismal performance; not counting them, private productivity from April



worst plunge since statistics keeping started more than three decades ago

Despite the drop, the U.S. remains first in the international productivity league, but its lead is narrowing Over the past ten years, nonfarm private productivity increased only 27%—the same as in Britain, but less than half as much as in France. West Germany and Italy and less than a quarter as much as in Japan. In 1950 it took seven Japanese or three German workers to match the industrial output of one American, today two Japanese and about 1.3 Germans do as well Says Economist Arthur Laffer "The US is the fastest 'undeveloping' country in the world

Nobody knows the deeper reasons why productivity is declining, let alone so rapidly. The question of whether people on the job are working as hard as before has been the subject of countless barroom arguments and almost no serious study. There is better evidence of other causes

EXCESSIVE REGULATION Government rules have forced companies to spend cash on costly environmental, health and safety equipment rather than on modern machines

Earlier this year, the congressional Joint Economic Committee deplored the fact that U.S. industry in 1977 had to spend \$6.9 billion for pollution-control equipment "that does not contribute directly to the production of measured

INADEQUATE INVESTMENT In the 25 years up to 1973. business spending on new plants added about 30 a year to the nation's capital base-plants and machines-but since then the total has risen only some 1.75% a year Businessmen blame the drop on regulation, profit squeeze. high taxes on capital, and inflation, which sans the con-

REDUCED R. AND D. Spending on research and development has dropped from about 3% of G N.P. in 1964 to 26; last year. One reason managers have concluded that inflation makes the payoff too long-term and too uncertain One result: the number of US patents issued to Americans has fallen 25% since 1971, while the number issued to foreigners has risen 14%

SURGE OF SERVICES They now account for 46% of G.N.P. up from 31% in 1950. It is harder to increase the productivity of a doctor, policeman, barber or bureaucrat

than an assembly-line worker "SUNSET" PROTECTION Import barriers support such ailing industries as steel and textiles. Some troubled firms. like Chrysler, are propped by federal bailouts. The hidden price is a perpetuation of inefficiency "You subsidize old. low-productivity industries, while we give aid to new, highproductivity industries." notes Joji Arai, manager of the U.S. office of the Japan Productivity Center. He is, in effect, a legal "spy" whose job is to pass good U.S ideas back to Japanese companies

Other, more immediate problems are accelerating the decline in productivity. Output per hour worked usually drops in the early stages of recession. That is because new orders fall faster than employers lay off workers-and so roughly the same force puts out fewer goods. Higher energy costs also raise the cost of using even efficient equipment and, perhaps, move some companies to switch away from fuel-thirsty machines to more labor-intensive production.

One major step to a solution is the spreading awareness that productivity is indeed a problem. "More companies are starting productivity programs," says Grayson. even though they have not reported any major breakthroughs yet What impresses me is the totality of the approaches They are looking beyond industrial engineering to incentive schemes, employee involvement and new systems for management to gather information.

The first step-now being undertaken by companies as diverse as Phillips Petroleum. Lear Siegler. Boise Cascade and Bank of America-is to find ways to measure a firm's productivity. The next step is to improve it by means of frequent meetings between management and labor and by what Grayson calls the three Rs of productivity recognition, responsibility and rewards for workers Under pressure from the White House, some of the regulatory agencies are searching for ways to reduce the burden of Government rules on business and to measure the impact against the expected benefits. The idea that companies should be allowed to find their own, most efficient ways of achieving regulatory goals is gaining favor.

Tax reform to spur investment would help productivity by stimulating capital formation. So would any move to give some extra tax benefits for R and D spending. possibly by emulating Canada's 150% tax write-off for such expenditures Since Big Government has caused so many of the problems of productivity, it is only fair that Government contribute to the solutions

More answers to your important questions

# From checking your oil to changing gasoline grades...

M ore and more people are using self-serve to speed their way through service stations. With this in mind, and considering the spot shortages that may crop up in certain areas from time to time, we're hearing the following questions:

#### Q. "What do I do about that under-the-hood stuff?"

A. Self-serve generally means that you make your own maintenance-checks as well as fill your own tank. Pull away from the pump island to perform maintenance checks if other drivers are waiting for gasoline. All you need is a rag.

 Remove the oil dipstick and wipe off excess oil.



The engine oil dipstick is in different places in different engines. Look around until you spot the looped handle.

 Reinsert the dipstick all the way and draw it out again. The oil on the end of the dipstick should be between ADD and FULL. If it's in or below the ADD mark, add a quart, or more.

3. Check your coolant by checking the level in the coolant overflow tank.

If your car doesn't have an overflow tank, you can check by removing the radiator cap—but never when the cap is hot! Wait until the car has cooled.

4. Check the battery water by removing the caps on top. Add water to bring the level up to the bottom of the filler neck, if needed.

 Check the windshield washer reservoir. It's usually a large, plastic bottle or sack. Add water and windshield washer solvent, if needed.

Also, visually check hoses, to make sure there are no cracks or bulges, and belts, to make sure there is no cracking, fraving or chunking.



The Self Service Book has all of the advice affered here and then some Send to a by writing Shel-Ansieve Books, P.O. Box 61600 Dept. A. Houton Texts 77208

#### Q. "What about the tires?"

A. Underinflated tires can burt your gas mileage, plus they wear down faster. When they are cool, check with a pressure gauge.

You'll find the recommended tire pressure on a sticker attached to your doorjamb or in your glove box.

A tip: Tires that are slightly over-

inflated roll easier and give you better gas mileage. But never exceed the maximum recommended inflation.

Another suggestion: Write for a free copy of Shell Answer Book #17. The Self Service Book. Write Shell Answer Books. P.O. Box 61609. Dept. A. Houston, Texas 77208.

# Q. "What if a station is out of the grade of gasoline I use?"

A. It depends on which grade you use. A good set of rules:

If your car requires unleaded, don't use leaded gasoline. Unleaded is required for cars with catalytic converters. If these important pollution control devices are fouled by the lead in exhaust fumes, they will no longer remove harmful hydrocarbons from the exhaust.

If you can't find leaded premium, try unleaded premium. There are higher octane unleaded gasolines on the market. One may work as well for you as leaded premium.

If you use leaded regular, unleaded may do. It will cost you more but it won't do your car any harm. Many cars that use leaded regular can run well on virtually any gasoline sold in this country.

For more information, send for Shell Answer Book #19. The Gasoline Book.



# World

# Fading Fervor

Khomeini is challenged but still in charge



on Tehran, more than 200,000 militants demonstrate in favor of Khe

od, tell me it's a bad dream." sobbed the woman as she husband in downtown Tehran The couple had been among the more than 100,000 people who took to the streets last Sunday to protest the closure of the popular daily Ayandegan by the increasingly repressive rule of Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini As they marched. they chanted slogans denouncing the "regime's encroachments on the people's fundamental liberties." Suddenly, sacks of fine earth were flung into the air by bands of marauding "phalangists," street toughs who break up antigovernment demonstrations. As the thick dust enveloped the crowd, the phalangists attacked with knives, clubs, iron bars, cleavers, chains panic some 200 people were injured. The demonstration, intended to be peaceful. had been called by the National Dem-

The next day in a counterdemonstration, more than 200,000 supporters of Khomeini marched in the streets of the capital Roving hands of militants atbeating up their members and chanting

"Communism shall die. Islam shall win!" Despite a pledge by Minister of Interior Hashem Sabbagian to prevent violence. 1.000 demonstrators first ransacked and then occupied the headquarters of the Marxist Fedavan-e Khalq (People's Sacrifice guerrillas) Khomeini's supporters were prevented from occupying the offices of another leftist group, the Mujahedin-e Khalq (People's Crusaders), only by a sit-in staged by young Mujahedin supporters declaring. You will first have to walk over our dead bodies

Not since Khomeini took power seven months ago had there been such scenes of violent protest in the capital. The repeated clashes throughout the week seemed to be a test of strength over the course of Iran's revolution. In his message to the nation on Jerusalem Day, set aside to demonstrate international Islamic solidarity with the Palestinians. Khomeini gave an ominous warning to his country's The Fedavan had issued a warning of their own Hundreds of us died in our struggle against the deposed Shah We shall not balk at dying by the thousands in

Was Khomeini beginning to lose pop-



An antigovernment protest ends in violence

ular support for his Islamic theocraey? Despite broader opposition the answer seemed to be no Said a British diplomat We see troubles on the streets, but nothing on the scale of a civil war " While Khomeini's authority is being more openly challenged, the revolution still belongs to the Ayatullah and the conservative religious leaders who support him They are backed by a nationwide "mosque structure" that acts as both an administrative and intelligence system for Khomeini, allowing him to reach out from his head, quarters in the holy city of Qum to every corner of the country. His authority continues to overshadow that of the civil government headed by Premier Mehdi Bazargan Khomeini's orders are enforced and often misinterpreted-by thousands of armed "komitehs. revolutionary organizations that in many cases are the only effective government

The Revolutionary Guards that support Khomeini are made up of thousands a national militia, desperately trying to keep order Iran's regular armed forces. thoroughly demoralized in the wake of the Shah's departure and a wave of executions of senior officers, have ceased to be an effective government instrument

Though the clergy is divided into moderate and conservative factions, and many disagree with Khomeini's conservatism, it has a vested interest in the new Islamic order Says the Ayatullah Sadegh Khalkhali, former head of the controversial revolutionary court. The mullahs staged the revolution and have come to power they will stay in power whether the U.S. or the Soviet Union likes it or not

Arrayed against the conservative mullahs are the highly vocal, well-organized forces of the left, veterates of years of underground opposition to the Shah. The two largest organizations are the Fedsya and the Mulpidenia, smillar in their scialist outlook, though the Fedsyan is secult as to outlook, though the Fedsyan is secular in the Korm. In other shelfers are noted in the Korm. In other shelfers are noted to the Korm. In own the state of the state attacks on their offices, though, Khomenin own risks driving these leftist groups underground Suys one Fedsyan itselfer. We are used to operations in a persawley are used to operations in a persawley ourselves to develop this wastifines.

The moderate opposition, led by the National Front and its offshoot, the National Democratic Front, reflects the views of Iran's educated middle class. The trouble is that all the moderate political organizations are badly organized and largely ineffective.

While accepting the creation of an Islamic republic, they reject the articlerocratic views of the dominant clergy, including increasing restrictions on the press. Last week the government issued new rules that held foreign journalists "responsible for any article that is against the Islamic revolution." The moderates object in particular to the recently electtration of the Islamic revolution. The moderates object in particular to the recently electration of the Islamic revolution. The moderate object in particular to the recently electration of the Islamic revolution. The consideration of the Islamic revolution of the constitution of the Islamic revolution of the Islamic Revolution of the Islamic Revolution. The feature of the Islamic Revolution of the Islamic Revolution of the feature of the Islamic Revolution of the Islamic Revolution of the feature of the Islamic Revolution of the Islamic Revolution of the feature of the Islamic Revolution of the Is

n the meantime, the government has to contend with increasing regional unrest among the nation's minorities and a deteriorating economic situation. Last week Kurdish rebels claimed to have shot down an Iranian Air Force F-4 Phantom jet in western Iran after fierce fighting broke out in the town of Paveh between Revolutionary Guards and Kurdish tribesmen Even more worrisome for the oil-consuming industrial nations, however, is the danger of unrest among the 2 million Iranian Arabs in Khuzistan, center of Iran's oil industry An inflamed Khuzistan would pose a serious threat to Iran's oil production, vital to the U.S., Japan and Western Europe,

Though Iran is currently earning \$24 billion a year from oil, and there is no shortage of cash or foreign exchange reserves, government officials privately acknowledge that the rest of the industry is running at about \$9% capacity. The result has been an unemployment rate of about 20%. Two weeks ago there were food riots in Tabriz, Iran's fourth largest city.

Despite rising discontent, it is clear that at present Romenin's appront dwarfs that of the divided opposition, which lack any leader of comparable statute. Last Friday an estimated 1 million people thronged the streets of Tehran and other major cities at Khomenin's call to demonstrate their solidarity with the Palestinians. The message to a frustrated opposition was clear: they may threaten with their thousands, but for the present Romenin has the support of millions.

NIGERIA

# **Black African Vote for Democracy**

After coups and chaos, trying out a U.S.-style system

Lalready has black Africa's largest population (about 80 million) and most bounteous economy (1978 gross national product \$33 billion), as well as the clout that comes with being a rapidly emerging leader of the Third World. To those assets, oil-rich Nigeria may soon add another that is very rare in its part of the world, a democratic government.

In a key step in a methodical transition from 13 years of military rule, what Nigerian officials describe as an "impressive" number of the country's 48.5 million registered voters went to polls this month to choose a President. Last week after ballots had been gathered from places as varied as the slums of the appallingly crowded capital Lagos, the minareted city of Kano in the Muslim north and steamy Enugu in the old Biafra area of the Christian and animist south, the name of Nigeria's first popularly elected chief executive was announced. He is Alhaji Shehu Shagari. 54. a slight, soft-spoken veteran civil servant who wears the robes and beaded hat of the northern Hausa tribe and has been an outspoken Muslim nationalist. If all goes as planned, Lieut General Olusegun Obasanjo, leader of the ruling Supreme Military Council. will turn power over to a government headed by Shagari on Oct. 1.

When that happens, Nigeria will have come full circle to the democratic system if inherited when it won independence from Britani in 1906. Since then, the counform Britani in 1906. Since then, the counshort-lived parliamentary republic, three coups, a bloody civil war and the assassination of a head of state. Nigeria, hassimutaneously been afflicted by social and mutaneously been afflicted by social with six wealth, which have grown along with its wealth, which have grown along plous reserves of easily refinable "sweet". light crude oil. Largely because thousands of peasants have deserted their farms to seek bloated wages in booming Lagos, the country must now import much of its food: the capital itself has swelled to a sprawling, traffic-clogged metropolis.

Meanwhile, a succession of military regimes has failed to resolve the tensions between the Ibo. Yoruba and Hausa tribes that flared into a civil war in 1967 when Biaffa, the Ibo homeland, tried to break away. The strongman in power then. General Yakuba Gowon, healed some of the sars by dealing an amnesty at the end of the war, in 1970, but he was toppled in 1975 by other soldiers who objected to his costly schemes, such as the building of a 520 million sports stadium in Lagos.

Obasanjo, a devout Baptist who became the military regime's leader in 1976, has had only mixed success in persuading Nigerians to curb their big spend-



President-elect Shehu Shagari



Even government officials were conceding that the nation was "tired of dictatorship

## World

ing The need is urgent because the country's appetite for grandiose public projects as well as for needed social wel-But Obasanjo has had no trouble at all in selling his people on a return to democracy. Nigerians, as one Lagos official says bluntly, are "tired of dictatorship.

In 1975, the Obasanio regime began U.S.-style federal democracy without exacerbating the tensions between the dommant tribes By mid-1978, a constitution was adopted that included key features of the American system, such as a twohouse legislature and a chief executive elected for a four-year term. To ensure that parties are national in character and not just tribal or religious groupings, the election procedures provide that to win the presidency, a candidate must show broad strength not only by finishing first in the overall vote but also by garnering at least 25% of the ballots in two-thirds of the country's 19 states

Last September Obasanjo ended the nation's twelve-year-old ban on political activity, and more than 55 parties exploded into noisy life. But only five, among them Shagari's National Party of Nigeria (N.P.N.), could generate a following wide enough to qualify their presidential candidates. The freewheeling and occasionally violent campaign that followed persuaded some Nigerians that the experiment with democracy was premature. Said a professor "There are two kinds of people here, the pessimist who says civilian rule will fall apart before it begins in October, and the optimist who says that it will fall apart six months later.

No spellbinder with crowds. Shagari. teacher, edged his two main rivals, who hinted after the election that they might challenge the results. The two were Yoruba Chieftain Obafemi Awolowo, a major architect of Nigeria's independence, and Nnamdi Azikiwe, an Ibo leader who was the nonelected President during the brief parliamentary republic. In the campaign. Shagari emphasized his experience as a minister of finance, education and other departments in previous regimes. Though once a leader of an organization that advocated 'national unity" under Hausa domination, he picked an Ibo running mate Moreover, he managed to gloss over the corrupt reputations of many of the N.P.N 's assembly candidates Said he "I am not a judge of morals. Our main preoccupation is to get votes

Shagari's pragmatism could spell success for Nigeria's reborn democracy, if he can curb the excesses of his party followers, who finished strongly in races for the federal senate and state assemblies. But it might also spell disaster if he permits the country to fall back into the fractiousness of the past Says a Western diplomat in Lagos. "A lot of people have their

# "Here, Everyone Suffers Equally"

In Hanoi, Ilo and hardship are still omnipresent

E ver since Saigon fell in 1975. Viet Nam Americans. In the past month, though, Hanoi's leaders have welcomed successive visits by two U.S congressional delegations in a renewed campaign to win friends in Washington and secure US diplomatic recognition TIME Correspondent David DeVoss, who accompanied one of the groups, was permitted to stay on in the Communist capital through last week. His report

Every morning at 6 a.m. loudspeakers on the ornate clock tower above Hanoi's Central Post Office crackle to life with the idents consider that an extravagance On humid summer evenings the largest crowds gather at the grassy esplanade in front of Ho's granite mausoleum

Fhough it is swept clean several times each day. Hanor appears dull and mum-mified. The once luxurious mansions along the graceful promenades and eulonial city look as though they have not been painted since the French defeat in 1954 Inside, families are packed two or three to a room, some even occupy old been removed With the exception of a Soviet-financed development called the





Passengers on trolley in Communist capital; destruction left by Chinese attack in Lang Son Dusty portraits of Che and Jane Fonda, and daily stampedes for fresh bre

strains of the patriotic pop song. In Praise of Ho Chi Minh Within the hour most of the city's 820,000 residents have mounted their bicycles to head for jobs and schools No matter where they pedal they never get far from Uncle Ho His exhortations TO BE VIGH ANT AND DEFEND THE COUN-IRY AT ALL TIMES are posted throughout the city. His steely face surveys every foyer and office It seems to personify the martial mind-set that still grips the Vietnamese and the discipline that characterizes life in Hanoi today

The contrast with the old Saigon could not be more striking Even toward the end of the war the southern capital exuded raffish energy from its thriving markets and lively night life There are no cabarets in Hanoi, and since the departure of the city's Chinese, almost no resing café at night to drink iced coffee and watch the moon glisten on the Lake of the Returned Sword, but many Hanoi res-

Kim-Lien subdivision, little new housing has been constructed in 25 years

During the colonial era, the four-block stretch from the lake to the French onquiet Little except 60c busts of Ho are elegant photography studio hints at Hanoi's genteel past but the only examples of Ho. Che Guevara and Jane Fonda Inthe fact that little is being produced for public consumption. While officials claim. that more than 2011 of the economy works on an "open market" basis, the only items private hawkers sell are vegetables, spices and such miscellany as incense, pith up more than 600', above 1975 levels.



# Right now, the people best equipped to help runaway kids are pimps.

A pimp can come off like a father figure to a kid who never had much love at home.

Particularly when she's scared, lonely and right off the bus.

All he needs is a week. To break her in. Maybe get her hooked on drugs. And put her out to work the street.

her out to work the street.

It's an ugly scene. And it's
getting worse all the time.

Keep in mind that these are kids we're talking about. Boys and girls as young as nine who sell their bodies in the squalid marketplace of

As young as nine, for God's

commercial sex.

And even if they try to break away, there's usually no place to go. Studies show that 75% of the kids who wind up in pornography and prostitution were sexually abused at home.

They're society's castoffs. Beyond the reach of family, church, school or government

It's ironic, isn't it? In the richest nation on earth, the people best equipped to handle runaway kids are pimps.

It really doesn't have to be that way. We think these castoff kids deserve a better deal.

We think it's time to take the responsibility for their futures out of the hands of the pimps, and put it where it belongs.

In the hands of people who care



resources can be integrated into a network of critically needed services that will start these kids back toward useful lives.

What it requires is

What it requires is education. Citizen involvement. Grass-roots organizing. And coordination of existing facilities.

Given enough support, we can beat the pimps on their own turf. With street-work counselors. Crisis housing. Professional guidance. Medical and psychiatric care.

cal and psychiatric care.

The point is to reach these kids before they fall prey to the pimps. Advocate for their rights. And get existing insti-

tutions to take an interest.
There's lots more information we want you to have.
Information on how we can help get a project going in

We also need your financial support.

Five or ten bucks won't make much difference in your life. But it can make a big

difference in the life of some runaway kid.

your community.

Mail your tax-deductible contribution to REFUGE, 1901 N. Moore St., Arlington, Virginia 22209.

Do it now. Please. You'll be giving us a weapon no pimp will ever have on his side.

Simple human decency.

REFUGE The National Office for Social Responsibility.

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With your help, we can make a dif-

People like yourself.

# Your Buick Dealer eliminates the leasing middleman!









"You think leasing only pays off for businesses? Check Buick Lease!"

Look into Buick Lease!"

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# He makes the Buick you want more affordable than ever—with no worries about service! Now anyone can lease a Buick!

New Buick Lease<sup>™</sup> puts leasing's benefits within reach of virtually anyone — and gives you unique advantages:



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Why wait? Look into Buick Lease today! See how easy and inexpensive it is to get the Buick you really want!

Buick<u>lease</u>

See your Buick Lease Dealer Today!

At Buick...Our reputation rides with you.

# Do you make these 10 common typewriter mistakes?

Most people make their fair share of typing mistakes. But the biggest mistake you can make is buying the wrong typewriter in the first place. There are ten things you should check out. They can help you avoid making these ten typewriter mistakes

Check out the correction system. There are several typewriter correction systems, but they don't all work equally well.

This Smith-Corona electric portable has a unique cartridge ribbon and correction system that lets you change ribbons in seconds without touching the ribbon. It also lets you correct typing errors quickly, neatly and easily

Test the feel. Are the slope and height of the keyboard comfortable? The size and shape of the keys? While you're about it, compare the feel of a Smith-Corona electric typewriter against others - we

welcome head-on comparison.

Try the touch, A responsive touch makes for easier typing. You want a touch that is prompt, easy and dependable. For instance, note how smoothly the Smith-Corona performs functions such as carriage return and back-space

Listen to the sound. Believe it or not, a typewriter has a sound of its own. If it sounds tinny, beware. It may indicate that the typewriter's construction is too light.

Note the look of the type. Lines and individual letters should be straight. The impression should be crisp, clean and even. The print quality should not vary over the page.

Patented Correction Cartridge

Consider the overall design. You want a typewriter that looks contemporary but not eccentric. Smith-Corona, for instance, is an example of classic good design you'll live happily with for years.

Look at the carrying case. Does it have double walls for air-cushioned protection? Sturdy latches and hinges?

The case for this typewriter does. Compare prices. A typewriter that sells for a lot less than others might be a lot less typewriter. Where price difference is minimal, you probably should go for the one that tests best

Ask who makes it. Smith-Corona makes every typewriter that bears its name - which is not true of most other brands. So consider the maker's reputation. A company

with a solid reputation will still be around tomorrow and in the future to give your typewriter necessary service and maintenance.

Try the Smith-Corona carbon film ribbon. We offer a re-usable nylon fabric ribbon, good for ordinary typing jobs. This is the only kind most portables offer. But we also offer carbon film ribbon in five colors. It's the same kind of ribbon that the most expensive office typewriters use, and it's perfect for jobs requiring a crisp professional look such as term papers or a resume

Once you've made these ten typewriter tests, we'll think you'll know why more people prefer Smith-Corona electric portable typewriters than all other brands combined

SCM. SMITH-CORONA

# World

few can afford anything beyond necessities. Just since 1978, observes one Western ambassador. The standard of living has declined enormously."

Fiven though a good harvest is experied. Viet Nam this year will fall 3.5 million tons short of the grain required to feed its 3.1 million people. The official feed its 3.5 million people. The official feed its 3.5 million people. The official Shoppers warm to hay fresh bread when the people of the people of

A phastically uggested and a service of the phastically uggested to be close of malanarition. The inability of ill-fed workers to put in a full day on the job mas contributed to serious delays in the construction of the Bai Bang papermil 167 miles northwest of Flanoi. Last years 187 miles northwest of Flanoi Last years 187 miles northwest 187 miles northwest 187 miles northwest 187 miles 187 miles

Never having experienced a consumer economy and conditioned instead by 30 years of war. Hanoi residents show no resentment or anger. In fact, they take perverse delight in sacrifice. When the monthly rice ration recently was reduced from 3% to 9 lbs. many citizens soluntarily increased their rice domations are people in border areas his by Chinas invasion has writer. According to one season has writer according to one season has writer according to one seaffedness are much as the people. Says her The best thing you can say for the system here is that it is fair to exercise the control of the system here is that it is fair to exercise Exercise Service season.

Although Hanoi's factories, markets and services (particularly the trolley system), are woefully inefficient, the city does work on the social level. Citizens get free schooling, disability coverage, full retirement benefits and rest-home care, and even financial assistance for funerals Hanoi is also safe. Officials claim that last year there were only three murders, just 100 complaints about pickpockets, and not one case of rape or armed robbery The proffered explanation is that from their preschool years. Hanoi's conformist citizens have been taught that criminals do not risk being made to pay a debt to society so much as being expelled from it by their peers "You'll find no beggars. prostitutes or drug addicts here." boasts Nguyen Dinh Hiep, deputy chairman of the 15-member People's Committee.

which functions as the city executive

vasion from China, captured American F-5 and A-37 jet fighters line the taxiway of Noi-Bai airport. At sunset munitions convoys roll north across the Red River toward the cities destroyed by the Chinese: ravaged border towns like Lang Son have yet to be rebuilt. Some analysts helieve China, having already tried a frontal assault, may next attempt to attack the Vietnamese regime through subversion: as evidence they cite the dramatic defection to Peking of Hoang Van Hoan. deputy chairman of the National Assembly and old comrade of Ho Chi Minh Viet Nam's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Nguyen Co Thach, argues confidently that any subversion attempt would surely fail. In the Hanoi regime he says, "there is always dissension, but unity always comes forth.

Brave words, but some policies in the imme of that vaunted unity base been unmitigated disasters. Thach complains that half of Viet Nam's faiting feet has been stolen by departing refugees. He neglects to add that all fishing craft were nationable to add that all fishing craft were nationable to add the state of the store of the new policies of the state of the state



After the killer flood receded: a Morvi woman who lost her family in the disaster weeps as she surveys the town's devastation

# Death in India's "Paris"

herever you put your foot in the mud that is now Morris, you strike a body". So said Panka [Zaveri, a survivor of the most disastrous accident ever to befall India in the midafferenco of a torrentally rainy Saturday, the 197-fit-high earthen Machhu dam in western India's Gujarat sates suddenly bust open. The waters behind it boiled six miles down a river in the state's Saturashtra district and crashed into Morris, a semi-industrial town of 75 g000. known and broad avenues. Must houses were entirely swept away, brick and concrete buildings were entirely swept away, brick and concrete buildings were entirely and that she bush with a concrete buildings were entirely and that she will be supported to the state of t

everything else was buried under a layer of ocue almost 4 ft. thick. Rescue workers found bloated bodies half buried in the sediment and hanging from fences and tree branches. By week's end, some 1.00 corpses had been counted, and it seemed probable that the final toll would go even higher, not counting those killed in the 30-odd small villages between Morri and the dam.

The seven-year-old Machhu dam had been designed to cope with an average annual rainfall of 22 in. The storm that precipitated the collapse dumped 28 in. of rain on the region in less than 24 hours. Water was already lapping over the top of the dam when engineers rushed to try to open the sluice gates. But some of the gates stuck, for reasons still unexplained, and thus India's "Paris" was dooms.

BRITAIN

# Facing a Multiracial Future

A worried white majority confronts the stress of change

condon's elegant Regent's Park Road is closed by Muslims prostrate in prayer for the holy month of Ramadan. Carnaby Street, whose chic boutiques launched the miniskirt in the Swinging Sixtes. now has the slightly raffish look of an Oriental bazzar: half its shops are owned or managed by Indians and Paksisants Jamaican crackers outself English the rhythms of setel bands throb from clubs in Notting Hill Much more jarring and incongrouss, in an old echo of the American 6bs. the summer nights are also sometimes rocked by the sounds of youth-

ful violence between races. Most reluctantly. Britain has become a multiracial society. An influx of darkskinned immigrants, mainly from Pakistan and the Commonwealth countries of the Indian subcontinent and the Caribbean, has woven strands of rich diversity into the staid patterns of English life, especially in the six major urban areas where two-thirds of them have settled. While Britain's 1.9 million newcomers represent a mere 3.4% of the 56 million population, the white majority is deeply perturbed by their presence. In a time of mounting unemployment (1.4 million). many whites fear that their jobs, their homes and even their culture are threatened by the darker faces in their midst. And with increasing frequency, their resentment flares into open hatred.

So concerned is the new Conservative government headed by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher about all this that it plans to deal with the immigration "problem" even before tackling the white-onwhite hatreds that have plagued Northern Ireland for a decade. In fact, even while Thatcher was meeting her fellow Commonwealth leaders at their early-August conference in Zambia, back in London her Ministers were quietly completing new proposals to curb immigration from the Commonwealth countries. They stem from the Tories' belief that unless white fears are placated during the next few years, when unemployment is expected to rise to perhaps 2 million as a result of efforts to curb inflation. Britain could be wracked by a racial explosion.

Even now, British headlines reflect daily evidence of accumulating racial strain. A white man is mugged. A black teen-ager is pushed under a bus by white hooligans. A middle-aged Asian is beaten to death in the subway by three whites. A dead mouse is slipped into a Bengali worker's lunch pail. Soccer crowds jeer "coon" at a black player on the field.

In April, during the election campaign, a bloody race riot erupted in the West London district of Southall, near Heathrow Airport, which has the capi-



lowlered Briton with new countrymen

titles are citizens moreover, fully 40° of the country's monhies were from in Britain. and that proportion is swelling files as a result of a brith rate that is 50° higher than the national average. Yet there is an almost unconscious reliusal to accept an almost unconscious reliusal to accept an almost unconscious reliusal to accept seek that the seek of the see

During World War II. colonials of many maces throughout he Empire Gught under the Union Jack In 1984s. agrateful Labo government introduced the British Nationality Act. it said that citriess of the Commonwealth custiess of the Commonwealth custiess of the Commonwealth custies were also citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies, thus providing the legal framework for future waves of immigration to 19755 the first brown and black commonwealth custies of the commonwealth of the comm



Racially mixed group of students gathered at recess at an East London school

People talk of helping them to return "home," as if they were not already there.

tal's biggest concentration of Indians and Pakistanias Police had feared a clash between left-wing Asian militarias and members of the mean, nediscest Nationrally But even before the rally, hundreds of Asian youths rained stones and bottles on the cops. They promptly counteratacked, clubbin size of the promptly counteratacked, clubbing young Indians and Pakstanis to the ground and dragging them a bitter constable said afterward ed for-

Other Western European states have had to deal with sizable racial minorities in the form of "guest workers" who have been allowed in on a temporary basis to fill factory and public service jobs. But in Britain by contrast, most of the minor-

began limiting Commonwealth entry and the influx was reduced.

But the problem had already arrived Hoping to legislate it away. Parliament in 1965 passed a race relations act that made it illegal to incite racial hatred Broadened in 1968 and 1976, the act now bans discrimination in employment. schools and housing, and empowers a Commission for Racial Equality to investigate violations. In its first successful action, which came only last November, the CRF ordered a Birmingham restaurant to stop refusing nonwhite customers. The CRE has also acted to help individuals like Sohan Singh Saggu, a Leeds factory worker of Asian ancestry who was forced to build a 6-ft hardboard partition around his lathe because fellow workers were continually spitting on him. After the CRE intervened, the factory promised to halt the abuse, and Saggu took down his bleak lit-

For years most politicians evaded the race issue, and successive governments behaved as though time and good intentions would somehow make it go away. Says a ranking civil servant. "I think the difference between the U.S. and here is that in America the Government has been willing to do something more than pass laws Here, once Parliament had passed the Race Relations Act, it then treated it as a bed to sleep on.

This inaction has allowed some voices of hate to win a wider hearing than they might have had otherwise For instance, the National Front, as the only political group actually encouraging violence against minorities, has achieved notoriety beyond its membership of 20,000 or so with scare tactics and street demonstrations. But both the Tories and Labor have carefully refrained from playing reckless politics with race. The Labor Party at least has correctly diagnosed the nature of Britain's racial ills even if it failed to push through any forceful program while in office Says Merlyn Rees. Labor's shadow Home Secretary "We need to counter the myths and propaganda about immigration and immigrants and state the positive case for a multiracial society. The real question facing us is not immigration but race relations.

But so far Rees is one of the few re-sponsible voices attempting to rouse Britons to this reality. Margaret Thatcher was helped by the race issue during her campaign. "The moment a minority threatens to become a big one," she said on TV early last year, "people get frightened. The British character has done so much for democracy, for law, that if there is any fear that it might be swamped people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in." After that speech. Thatcher's standing in the polls shot up 11%, because she seemed to be granting respectability to antiimmigrant sentiment.

The Thatcher immigration policy is aimed at curbing "those coming in The proposals, which will be formally announced in the fall, would restrict most further immigration to the wives and children of male heads of families already legally settled in Britain, that would chiefly affect nonwhites, since many would-be white immigrants would be admitted under a provision allowing immigration of persons who have a British-born grandparent. Under the Tory plan, the new Commonwealth inflow would drop in twelve months from the 1978 total of 42,939 to as low as 28,000, and would further decline over the next five years to under 5,000 annually. Also, those who are admitted would have to prove they can support themselves without aid while Police at race riot in capital's Notting Hill area looking for jobs. The aim is a virtual Immigrant youths are more militant.



Demonstrators protesting racism at rally

halt in nonwhite immigration. Vows a senior Whitehall official: "We shall see the end of the immigration era within the lifetime of the present Parliament

But slamming the door will not soon dispel the antagonism toward nonwhites that originally arose in the colonial era and was later compounded, as the Empire faded, by an uneasy feeling that racial diversity was yet another symptom of national decline. As one troubled Londoner complained to TIML, many Britons "have been made to feel that they don't belong to their own country any more." A white lawyer, speaking about a visit to the capital's racially mixed Peckham area, expressed a common lament

"I felt completely alien I felt pressure. On the basis of numbers alone, the presence of less than 2 million nonwhites should not appear threatening to white Britons After all, many immigrants tend to take jobs that whites no longer want.

such as hospital orderlies, garbage collec-

tors and bus conductors. What has magnified white fears so greatly is the immigrants' concentration in London and other manufacturing centers where they speak their own language, buy their own foods, make their own music. In Birmingham, some schools are more than 50% black. Sections of Bradford, a textile town that has many Indian workers, look more like Madras than the Midlands

Brixton, a South London district of small row houses where 70,000 West Indians live, is rapidly deteriorating into the capital's first true ghetto, a backwater of black alienation and crime Cecil, 18, a slender youth with a black leather cap. leans against the doorway of the Brixton unemployment office on Coldharbour Lane and says, "I wouldn't work in this country. I'd rather be a crook." A Jamaican who left the island when he was three. Cecil has not held a job since he graduated from school last year. Unable to find anything paying more than \$50 a week. he has had repeated brushes with the law. and plans to return to Jamaica when he has enough cash. "Look at the streets here," he says. "You see a lot of people suffering-no job, no money."

N of far from Brixton is the East End's Brick Lane, where between 7.000 and 25,000 Bengalis-no one knows the exact number-work in garment industry sweatshops. A timorous, often illiterate people, for the past two years they have been subjected to vicious beatings and murders by white gangs Listening to the sound of prayer coming from the local mosque. Gulam Mustafa, a leather goods manufacturer and local Bengali leader, says he has appealed repeatedly to the Home Office to help halt the attacks. The Bengalis' cause was taken up last year by the Anti-Nazi League, a leftist group formed to combat the National Front, but Bengalis are wary of being caught in the crossfire between left and right. "We need all the understanding possible to get along with the host coun-

try," explains Mustafa. "but we are the scapegoats in the confrontation

That question is being asked most insistently by the nearly 1 million British-born children of immigrants Unlike their parents, they regard themselves as Britons first, with a birthright of equality. They may not wait long to press their demands. In an eloquent TV documentary aired last month, a young Birmingham Asian. Tony Hug. expressed his generation's mood of defiance: "Gone are the days when we didn't even make a whimper. Gone are the days when we kept quiet about discrimination. Gone are the days when we accepted second-class citizenship.

Gone are the days, too, when Britain could ignore its minorities. A social struggle has barely begun, and it could reach threatening dimensions before Britons recognize that once it is a reality, a multiracial society cannot be undone.

# International Notes

#### **Up Down Under**

On the theory that Australians ought to take more pride in their country, a government and private-industry group early this month launched a \$4.2 million campaign that is supposed to whip Aussies





soon be flooded with television commercials citing assorted contributions that Australians have made to world progress, such as the invention of a sugar cane har-

point pens bearing

the slogan LET'S

ALIS-TRALIA are being

ADVANCE

vesting machine. A theme song composed by a Melbourne advertising executive exhorts citizens

There's a million things that you can do To help head off the crunch. From hit your nail right on the head To skip your business lunch, Suggest a better way at work. Write the press a note Remember when we disagree that

We're all in the same boat

While the campaign is supposed to run for three years, the early returns have not been especially positive. Reflecting the feeling of many Aussies, a Sydney Morning Herald columnist groaned that the "half-witted" promotion seemed "calculated to appeal to a backward rural electorate in India." Worse still, critics quickly noted that Project Australia, as it is called, has some imported features: the new pep song is borrowed from the old American folk favorite Big Rock Candy Mountain, and the promotional pens being handed out are stamped MADE IN U.S.A. So far the drive has succeeded mostly in inspiring derisive parodies, including one mock slogan that concludes: "Project Australia is a failia."

## Power to the People

Soweto, the cluster of poor black suburbs outside South Africa's gleaming commercial capital. Johannesburg, has always epitomized the darkest side of apartheid. Since it was developed as a dormitory for black labor toward the end of the last century, the township has been largely lacking in basic necessities, including roads, transit facilities, plumbing and electricity. Indeed. Soweto's lack of lighting contributed significantly to the frustration that fueled the June 1976 riots that ultimately cost the lives of 600 blacks

Since then, rail and bus services and housing programs have been improved. Now it looks as if Soweto may get electricity too. A consortium of South African banks has begun to issue governmentguaranteed loans for a \$177 million electrification program. If all goes according to plan, some 22,000 residents should get electricity in three months, although it will take four years to bring power to all of the township's 1 million residents.

#### Sex Code for Cops

Some of the rules on sexual behavior seemed to have been designed for a Victorian boarding school for boys. "When out on a date, be sure to head home early." "Refrain from premarital sex even when the girl is your fiancée." "If you go all the way, marry her quickly or your fever will cool down." "Keep your hands off married women or the result will be a calamity." "Beware of sweet words from bar girls and cabaret hostesses."

These exhortations were compiled by top-ranking police officers of Saitama prefecture, ten miles north of Tokyo. The sex directives are part of a 45-page code of conduct issued to 6,840 members of the



Saitama police force. The handbook, which also includes strictures against drinking and bribe taking, was prompted by the rising crime rate among police in Japan. Following the rape-murder of a college student by a bachelor cop last year. one Tokyo newspaper sagely observed that despite the police force's proud record of professionalism, "under the uniform there is nothing but naked flesh.

Though the new code frowns on pro miscuity, it also concedes the difficulty of continence. "When you try to excessively control sex, you might end up touching off an explosion," it explains. Masturbation, the handbook says, is "the safest way" to relieve sexual tensions and certainly preferable to dalliance with prostitutes. Reason: "You might even be blackmailed into marrying such a girl."

## Karl Who?

"The educator himself needs educating," wrote that famous critic of capitalist society. Karl Marx. But the comment might apply equally well to Communist Hungary, where a recently published poll has revealed some



the minds of Marx's progeny. Conducted in 1976-77 by an official government youth agency, the poll quizzed a representative sampling of 814 Communist youth leaders ages 14 through 30. The results, published in last month's issue of Ifju Kommunist (Young Communist), show an almost counterrevolutionary ignorance about Communist history.

Of those polled, 17% knew nothing about Lenin, 31% knew nothing about Stalin and 42% knew nothing about Khrushchev. According to one confused youth leader. Stalin was "commander in chief of the Germans and was finally shot in the head." Two thought Khrushchev was "the President of the United States in the early '60s," while a third identified the desk-pounding former Premier as "the first man to go into space.

In publishing the results, Ifju Kommunist placed a large part of the blame on both the school system and the news organs for their neglect of history and the humanities in general. But to some outside observers, the situation seemed to confirm another phrase from the prolific pen of Marx: "All great historic facts and personages recur twice-once as tragedy. and once as farce."



# Merit: New Choice For Millions.

Enriched Flavor' cigarette sparks whole new taste era in low tar smoking.

There's an unprecedented smoker move to MERIT.

No other new cigarette in the last 20 years has attracted so many smokers as quickly as MERIT!

And it's convinced some of the hardest-to-please critics of low tar smoking: high tar smokers. In fact, over 70% of MERIT smokers are coming directly from high tar brands!

It's clear: MERIT taste is changing attitudes toward low tar smoking.





Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Namath onstage in Akron



# People

He is known as Broadway Joe, but perhaps he should now be called Off-Broadway Joe. Or, more accurately. Akron Joe, for it was there that Joe Namath made his stage debut last week. Appearing in a production of William Inge's Pienic, the former football player played, well, a former football player named Hal Carter Namath, as always, moved well and turned on the charm; as always, he gave the ritual credits to team and coach. "I relied on people around me." he said, adding that "the director sure did a great job getting me ready." The schedule now calls for Namath to play Columbus and Dayton, which must be a

good deal easier than playing Pittsburgh and Dallas.

Remake Remarque? Yes indeed a new film version of Erich Maria Remarque's World War I classic. All Quiet on the Western Front, shot in Czechoslovakia, will be aired on CBS in November. In the 1930 production. Lew Ayres starred as the young German soldier named Paul Baümer, today he is played by Richard Thomas, the onetime John Boy of The Waltons. Ernest Borgnine portrays Stanislaus Katezinsky, the Polish veteran who instructs the raw army recruits. Borgnine and the rest of the cast had to take gamma globulin shots to protect themselves against a countrywide epidemic of a hepatic disease. Location shooting is hell.

At last, the story you have been waiting for! About a tough hombre who burst into the world of letters with boundless energy, a hungry heart and a typewriter stuffed with lusty words. He churned out blockbusters like The Carpetbaggers. The Adventurers and The Inheritors, books crammed with characters who caress and curse, curse and caress their way through life. "I'm a people writer," he has explained And right he is: though critics may jeer his work is "tripe" and "crud." the people have made him a millionaire many times over. A mansion in Beverly Hills! A villa in

Borgnine on location in Europe

Cannes! And an empire of readers throughout the world! Some time this month, a fan will buy the 200-millionth paperback copy of a Harold Robbins novel A sensational achievement! Unprecedented! Soon to be a major motion picture!

"I am a camera with its

self? Some California Governor, present or former? No. the man making those charges was Jimmy's longtime buddy Griffin Bell, who uttered the comments just before he left his post as Attorney General to return to his law practice in Atlanta. Mind you, Jimmy is "moving in the right direction." Bell said approvingly. and the President still has the shutter open, quite passive, re- rest of this year-"120 days"



od at home in Santa Monica, Calif.; camera to camera

cording, not thinking." Christopher Isherwood wrote the lines 40 years ago in his novel Goodbve to Berlin. The author is about to celebrate his 75th hirthday and he is still clicking away. His latest book, titled My Guru and His Disciple depicts his relationship with Swami Prabhavananda. a Hindu monk Isherwood first befriended in 1939. To be published early next year, the memoir takes care of what Isherwood calls his "sacred side" He is now working on a book about his "profane side"-his years as a Hollywood scriptwriter. Obviously this cameraman is partial to self-portraits.

The President, said the speaker, "acted like one of the boys," while "the American people want the President to act like the President." Moreover, Jimmy Carter was inclined to trivialize his job, getting too easily mired in "minutiae Who was this, sounding as if he would very much like to be considered for the job him-

to put his White House in order But he better hurry Tvc seen secretaries hand the President the names of 40 Congressmen to call on a bill I wouldn't even have told him was pending.

## On the Record

G. William Miller, Treasury Secretary, on how his style differs from that of his predecessor. Michael Blumenthal: "There's a new rug on the floor That's about the only difference

Bear Bryant, University of Alabama football coach, on his players' rewards when they win a championship. "The girls squeeze their hands a little tighter, and people are nice when they go to the drugstore."

Yehudi Menuhin, violinist, on why the Olympics should include performing arts: "Music provides the gymnastics of the soul, and gymnastics are the music of the body.

# Cinema

# The Making of a Quagmire

APOCALYPSE NOW Directed by Francis Coppola

Written by John Milius and Francis Coppola

N ow that the movie is in the theaters, audiences are at last going to learn just why it took Francis Coppola 530 million and almost four years to finish Apocalypse Now. The answer, it turns out, is not mearly so mysterious as one might sup-

pose. Coppola delayed the completion of his Viet Nam film for the simple reason that he could not bring off the grand work he so badly wanted to make. He tinkered right to the end-long after a lesser director would have cut his losses-but his movie remains a collection of footage While much of the footage is breathtak- Robert Duvall ing. Apocalypse Now is

emotionally obtuse and intellectually empty. It is not so much an epic account of a grueling war as an incongruous, extravagant monument to artistic selfdefeal

The letdown is especially upsetting because Apocalypse Now seemed the ideal marriage of a major artist to an important subject. Except for Stanley Kubrick. no other contemporary American director is as gifted as Francis Coppola. In his classic Godfather films, he proved that great themes—power, family, violence, love, morality—could be expressed in the richest language of popular moviemaking.







Marion Branck

In his thriller The Conversation, he offered the most sophisticated indictment of Watergate-era politics yet to appear onsereen. Given his talent for fusing ideas with the diverse demands of big-budget entertainment. Coppola was the only real candidate to make the definitive film about Viet Nam. Apocalypse Now promised to go beyond the narrow scope of

Coming Home, beyond the wrenching drama of The Deer Hunter. These promises, though broken, can still be seen in the film. Like other legendary movie mishaps, from D.W. Griffith's Intolerance to Bernardo Bertolucci's 1900, Apocalypse Now is haunted by the ghost of its creator's high ambitions.

Coppola's first instincts were correct: there was a fine idea for a movie here. Inspired by Joseph Conrad's novella Heart of Darkness. Coppola wanted to portray America's Viet Nam adventure as a lit-

eral and metaphysical journey into madness. The literal journey is taken by Captain Willard (Martin Sheen), an officer who is commanded to travel upriver from Saigon to Cambodia. His mission is to assassinate Colonel Kurtz (Marlon Brando), a once exemplary Green Beret who has now gone crazy and set up a kingdom of murder in the dark-

est jungle. "There is no way to tell [Kurtz/s] story without telling my own." Willard explains early on. Coppola apparently hoped that by dramatizing both Kurtz/s and Willard's descents into savagery, he would arrive face to face with the moral hortor of the war.

Unfortunately, the director never does get around to telling the story of either







Of course you can afford it. Think of all the money you've saved drinking ordinary Scotch.

## Cinema

character's personal apocalypse. Instead. he uses part of Willard's river journey as a pretext to unveil a series of large-scale, self-contained set pieces-an impersonal tour of the war front. Though these sequences do not add up to a movie, they are feverishly imagined and brilliantly shot (by Bertolucci's favorite cinematographer. Vittorio Storaro) Indeed, the first of these war scenes may be the most spectacular battle ever created for a film With a megalomaniacal officer (Robert Duvall) leading the charge, a cavalry of American helicopters wipes out an entire Vietnamese village. The display of aerial hardware is immense, the rush of explosions dizzying Duvall's tough but nutty commander would do justice to Joseph Heller: as bullets whiz by him on all sides, he engages his men in an obsessive debate about surfing.

Shocks of a more surreal nature follow. When Willard meets upwith a bump-and-grind USO, show in the proverbial middle of nowhere. Coppola creates a haunting speciacle of corrupt American values looke in an alien world. Later, Willard encounters a platoon of speech in the control of the cont

Yet such is the nature of the entire film that even these hallucinatory passages are not so powerful as they might be. At times they are as anesthetizing as the Viet Nam footage that once dominated TV's evening newscasts. What is missing from these panoramas of death is a human context. There are almost no well-defined characters in Apocalypse Now. The biggest nonentity of all, sadly enough, is Willard We are supposed to see the movie through his eyes-which are frequently superimposed on the film's images-but those eyes tell us nothing. It is not Sheen's fault, no one has written him a role. He is neither the initially innocent traveler of Conrad's fiction (where the character was called Marlow) nor a hardened

Perhaps if Coppola had succeeded in his efforts to recruit a star for the part. Willard might have commanded an audience's interest and empathy by sheer force of personal magnetism. Having no star, the director tried a more desperate solution: he commissioned Journalist Michael Herr (Dispatches) to write a narration that attempts to fill in Willard's personality ex post facto on the sound track That narration-alternately sensitive, psychopathic, literary, gung-ho and antiwar-is self-contradictory and often at odds with Willard's behavior. It does not establish the protagonist as a credible figure or begin to achieve Coppola's loftier goal of charting Willard's tailspin into psychological terror Eventually the voice-over commentary becomes a

makeshift panacea for the film's many other defects: it hastily clarifies plot points and states themes that Coppola has uncharacteristically failed to develop through action. dialogue and pictures through action. dialogue and pictures. This strategy is as hopeless as trying to glue together a \$30 million airplane with

wads of bubble gum.

Certainly the narration does nothing to rescue Willard's thinly sketched crew. mates frederic Forest, Albert Hall. Sam Bottoms and Larry Fishburne. They are typical American kids who inexplicably travel together for days without ever engaging in intimate conversation. When they go mad in the film's second half, their transformations seem arbitrarily decreed by Coppola rather than dramatically jus-

confront the issues his film initially intended to explore. The journey into America's Viet Nam madness—not to mention the journey into Willard's and Kurtz's souls—reaches its dead end in a quagmire of freshman English class recitations.

The ending fails not only intellectually but also a plain theater Like the apocalyptic space journey in Kubriels' very similarily structured 2001 A Space Odyssey. Willard's journey is designed as a psychedelic trip Each stop along the way is meant to be more phantasmagoric than the last. In 2001, Kubrich successfully escalated his film at each stage, even topping the seemingly unbeatable light show with a more bizarre finale Coppona. while creating progressively weirder



An immense display of aerial hardware, a dizzying rush of explosions

tified We feel nothing Still, the crew members are almost Dostoyevskian in complexity compared with the deranged Kurtz. When we finally meet the ernegade at his camp of Montagnard disciples. Appearly: Now collapses into a terminal antichmax. An overweight, bald Brando weaves in and out of the shad-time of the shades of the

Coupola appears to believe that if Kurt's solficequizes about "horror" and "moral terror." the audience will think that the move the actually deal with that the move the actually deal with manes kurt, we will do not keepers of his large cult or even the identity of the many greeneder copress and severed heads that le stress about his domain. Nor do we kurt's undefined cause, goes shead and kills him. By withholding his information. Coppola gives up his final chance to war seenes runs dry before he reaches his crucial imaginative leap. Kurt's fisatidiously designed compound looks as a timere as a sei in an oldtime jungle horror movie. His murder, which is archly interest with the ritual slaughter of a carabao, is the film's only poorty shot death some. Appendipper Now's much talked about discarded ending—another air raid would not have illuminated this murk.

with not nace insufficient this murk. The real states of the movie, however, the property of the second participation of the second participat

# Religion

# Flying Saucery in the Wilderness

New revelations from the sheep of Bo and Peep



Bonnie Lu Nettles ("Peep")

Marshall Herff Applewhite ("Bo")

he wiry fellow hauling clubs on this summer's pro tour looked to be your average caddy; suede shoes, mottled spectacles, blue sun cap. But Paul Groll, 32, quietly claims to be an emissary from an ultrasecretive religious cult that is-quite literally-outlandish.

The cult sounds like a cross between the Book of Revelation and Arthur C Clarke's Childhood's End. It was born in 1975 when a distinguished-looking couple held a series of West Coast meetings to announce that a spaceship would soon arrive to swoop up properly trained apostles into the "next level" of existence. The pair called themselves only "Bo and Peep or-because of their claim to be the "two witnesses" of the End Times in Revelation 11-"The Two." With end-of-themillennium enthusiasm, as many as 200 people forsook jobs and possessions, even spouses and children, and suddenly followed Bo and Peep into the wilderness Groll was among them. He had done

an Army hitch, spent four years as an antique refinisher, been married and divorced before becoming a caddy. Why did the onetime Presbyterian believe in The Two? "Liust felt drawn to them You could feel the goodness

After the flock vanished, the press identified Bo as Marshall Herff Applewhite, a former music teacher at the University of St. Thomas, a Roman Catholic school in Houston, and choirmaster of an Episcopal church Peep was formerly a Houston nurse named Bonnie Lu Nettles. In 1976 two University of Montana sociologists, Robert Balch and David Taylor, located the nomads' wilderness camp and found it noncoercive but sometimes troubled by doubts.

The group is still camping out Groll's account of life there cannot be corrob-

orated because he "promised" Bo and Peep not to reveal the location. He says only that there are about four dozen people, and that they are normally encamped in the Wyoming Rockies, moving to a ranch in northern Texas when the snows come. Unarmed sentries guard the perimeter of the compound to fend off outsiders. As Groll tells it, the relaxed life-style that the sociologists found seems to have changed drastically. Even with today's can-you-top-this cult scene. his account of training for life in outer space is remarkable. Each minute. 24 hours a day. a musical beep sounds across the camp from a command tent ("Central"). During the day, at twelve-beep intervals, the disciples check Central for their next task. Among their duties: camp chores. perimeter guarding and stints as "rotating eyes" (monitoring campers' con-

duct and reporting Bo and Peep have

"thousands of rules." reports Groll, but "they never force anyone to do anything." During one three-month phase, members constantly wore hoods over their heads and peered out through mirrored eye slits. The usual uniform is a brightly colored windbreaker over a jumpall times. Members can say yes, no or "I don't know" but otherwise communicate only by written messages They study the Bible, forswear sex, drugs and alcohol. They are, however, permitted to watch TV newscasts and read newspapers to emphasize the differences between the values of the camp and the outside world The newspaper obituaries, stock market reports and sports pages are clipped out because they are considered distracting.

At the two daily meals (called "lab experiments") a blackboard in the dining tent lists "formulas" that specify the menu (PA for potatoes, CA for cake). The food must be consumed with meticulous care to reduce noise Bo and Peep usually shop for food and supplies personally. They always pay cash, once explaining to cult members. Groll recalls, that we "didn't have any need to wonder" about money

Much time is spent on an eye exercise in which Bo-and-Peepers concentrate on a single object for up to an hour They are "out of orbit" (i.e., exempt from the (welve-minute work cycles) for this, and for lectures by Bo and Peep. The Two proclaim that Bo has been Jesus. Elijah and Moses in his former lives. The spacecraft is imminently expected. It will carry believers to an enigmatic "garden" where they will get "energy" from their coequal. the King of Kings, alias Chief of Chiefs. the god who created planet earth. Believers will live eternally in hairless, toothless bodies that are free of disease and decay. Groll scoffs about possible parallels between the camp discipline and the tragic end of Jonestown: "Anyone can walk away We just have to turn from a caterpillar into a butterfly and then we'll be ready to leave Groll got an honorable discharge from

the U.S. Army. He has not sought money for his strange revelations. He was always a rootless man, according to Toledo Lawyer Sheldon Slaybod, a friend who knew him before the conversion The years in the wilds have not changed him much, says Slaybod, "although he's

a lot more at peace with himself. Groll claims that

Bo and Peep decided to have him come out of hiding for a while and tell his story Consequently he regards his workaday life as temporary. If I felt they were calling," he says flatly. "I would go back They're still putting out vibrations and sending me a lot of positive energy If the call does not come earlier, he expects to meet up with

his companions when that rescue spaceship arrives and flies them away to the eternal garden



Paul Groll caddying Waiting for the Chief of Chiefs

# Law

# The DC-10 Crash Sweepstakes

Air disasters make for big cases—and his rewards

When a DC-10 falls out of a clear blue sky and kills 275 people, as American Flight 191 did in Chicago last May, there is no doubt that the victums families will be financially compensated for the state of the sta



New York Lawyer Lee Kreindler At Tenerife: \$650,000 for claimants

tims if they would settle instead of go to court, and more settlement offers are forthcoming. What the airline and the airplane builder are trying to avoid is the kind of protracted legal battle that can cost them much more.

It invariably begins with a race among some unscrupulous lawyers to sign up the next of kin. Soliciting clients, or "ambulance chasing," can cost a lawyer his license But for some the temptation of a multimillion-dollar air crash is too much. One practice is to hire "investigators" to interview the grieving relatives and drop the name of a "highly recommended" attorney After crashes abroad, American villages where the victims lived, rent a hall and then invite the heirs to come and listen to a talk about "their rights." The DC-10 crash prompted a San Francisco law firm to place an ad in the Los Angeles Times headlined, in mortuary gothic letters. TO THOSE WHO NEED TO KNOW ABOUT AN AVIATION DISASTER. The adinvited readers to call the firm collect for further counsel. (Twelve readers responded; so far none have signed up.) Is the ad ethical? Says California State Bar President David Levy. "The line between advertising and solicitation is pretty fine They're pretty clever."

Insurers for the airlines are understandably eager to head off the lawyers by getting to the next of kin first and offering them a quick settlement. A week after the Flight 191 crash, the insurer for American Airlines sent a three-page letter to the relatives of all the passengers Extending his "sincere condolences" and detailing the insurers' plans to pay funeral expenses, Robert Alpert, vice president of the United States Aviation Underwriters. offered to settle any damage claims. Then came some pointed advice. "It is also our hope," wrote Alpert, "that you ultimately retain as much of the compensation as is properly due you without unnecessary diversion of large amounts to legal expenses

outrageous!" was the response from Lee Kreindler. 55, a highly respected New York City lawyer who is one of a small group that specializes in aviation accident law. Alpert had no business "butting in" on the lawyer-client relationship, said Kreindler He added "I know of no case where a claimant benefited by dealing directly with a liability insurance company." In the 1977 collision between two Boeing 747s on the ground at Tenerife in the Canary Islands. for instance, the insurance company tried to settle quickly with Kreindler's 41 clients for \$58,000 apiece: after two years. Kreindler managed to win settlements of over \$650,000 for some claimants

Kreindler defends his high fees 117149 to 25% of the award), pointing out that air crash suits are complex and time consuming. In the Chicago air crash case. he will have to show how much money his clients (so far, the relatives of 16 victims) need to be compensated for their loss, based on the projected earning power of the victim, age, dependence on and relationship to the claimant. He must also prove that American or McDonnell Douglas or both were at fault. To be sure. the airline and manufacturer have offered not to contest their liability and to settle -but only if the victims' families agree not to press for punitive damages. Designed to deter harmful acts that are willor wanton, punitive damages are added to however much money it takes to compensate the victims' families. To prove to a jury, as Kreindler puts it, that American and McDonnell Douglas

"knew it was only a matter of time before the airplane fell apart." Kreindler will have to amass mountains of persuasive evidence.

Chicago Attorney John Kennelly, 62, an air crash-expert who hasso far filed suits on behalf of the relatives of 22 victims in the Chicago crash, charges that the insurers traditionally stretch out the intigation to had on for as long as possible to the large sums of money they will use the property of the interest of the control of th

To provide quick, indisputable and



Chicago Lawyer John Kennelly

In the future: uniform guidelines for heirs

fair compensation for victims families in the future. Kennelly suggests a system of no-fault insurance. Uniform guidelines would be established that would specify the settlement for each heir, weighing the same factors—victim's age, income and so forth—that a court new considers before making awards. Kennelly acknowlfore making awards. Kennelly acknowlore making awards. Kennelly acknowlposal: "If they standardize awards, it does away with my job."

That will not happen any time soon and the Chicago crash is shaping up as the most expensive aviation liability case to date. The record for damages is now held by the crash in 1974 of a Turkish Aircoxis its insurers some 568 million. But because of inflation and because the passengers were Americans with higher earning potential. the Chicago crash could cost as much as \$200 million in claims, which as much as \$200 million in claims, which are the control of the cont

# Theater

# **Equus Infra Dig**

STRIDER: THE STORY OF A HORSE A play with music by Mark Rozovsky Adapted from a story by Leo Tolstoy

t its rare best, the theater possesses At his rare best, the uncanny ability to restore and sustain the virginity of a child's imagination. The unmarred innocence of true belief. The faith in magic and miracles. The trust that humankind issues from the hand of God in luminous purity. The hope that life will some day safely return to that hand, however manacled tormented and casually degraded by the world's flagrantly iniquitous ways

Can a horse embody that deep measure of humanity under the pressure of grace? If Tolstoy wrote the story, the answer is yes. And Tolstoy did write the tale that inspired the Russian play that has now been adapted to English with remarkable aesthetic fidelity for Manhattan's Chelsea Theater Center

A central factor is mime, in which a goodly number of the company mimic the balletic prancing of Thoroughbreds. The equine hero is Strider (Gerald Hiken). whose bloodlines must somewhere have tangled with those of Harpo Marx. Strider is a piebald gelding and, because of that, very infra dig. Metaphorically, he is a Russian serf in a land where serfdom. at all unhappy times, seems endemic. Yet all men are serfs of some sort, as Tolstov points out. And every serf, like every dog. does have his glorious days. For Strider. the first is a fling at love with a filly fatale (Pamela Burrell), an adventure for which he is gelded. The second is a horse



Gerald Hiken and his equine team are driven forward by Gordon Gould in Strider A Thoroughbred hero whose bloodlines must have tangled with those of Harpo Marx

race in which he wins his master's bet !

that risk.

for him. His master is Prince Serpuhofsky (Gordon Gould), an engaging aristocrat of excess whose religion is hedonism and whose reigning vices are gambling and drink.

Strider and the prince plummet to their fates in parallel lines. The animal prince in Strider is flogged into the ground in a vain chase after Serpuhofsky's faithless mistress (Burrell transformed into a heart wrecker of a woman). Strider ends in the knacker's yard awaiting the knife. Serpuhofsky, too tipsy to stand up. a prince turned slave, a man who once commanded 2 million rubles, ends up trying to cadge a thousand from an arriviste. In a moment of extreme poignance, the prince spies Strider. He remembers him

and yet refuses to recognize him. Time, the supreme sculptor of decay and death has confronted him with his own crumbling skull in a mirror

To praise Gerald Hiken as Strider might be too faint a thing to do. You only believe in him if you have ever been moved to laughter, truth and tears. No one can ask more of an actor at the match

point of illumination The direction of Robert Kalfin and Lynne Gannaway smoothly accomplishes the transitional journey between one alien culture and another and knits both together in binding humanity. In his years as Chelsea's artistic director. Kalfin has been a dramatic risk taker of taste. Nev-

er has it been more rewarding to share T.E. Kalom

# Milestones

DIVORCED. Peter O'Toole, 47. Irish actor who played the title roles in Lawrence of Arabia and Goodbye, Mr. Chips; and Sian Phillips, 46. Welsh actress who starred in television's I. Claudius: after 20 years of marriage, two children: in London,

DIED. Vivian Vance, 66. actress-comedian known to millions of TV viewers as Ethel Mertz. Lucille Ball's best friend and neighbor, on the long running and even longer rerunning show I Love Lucy: of cancer: in Belvedere, Calif. A star in Broadway musicals, the Kansas-born blond was in semiretirement when recruited by Ball and Desi Arnaz to play Ethel-the role she played from 1951 to 1956. "After a while." she said. "you're not sure who you are-Ethel Mertz or Vivian Vance." When cast as Lucy's sidekick on the 1960s The Lucy Show, Vance insisted that her character be called Vivian

DIED. Bertil Ohlin, 80. Swedish politician and economist who shared, with Eng-

land's James E. Meade, the 1977 Nobel Prize in Economics; in northern Sweden. At 25, the handsome, precocious Ohlin was a full professor at the University of Copenhagen and an expert in international trade. A practitioner as well as a theorist. Ohlin was Sweden's Trade Minister in a wartime coalition government (1944-45). Chief of the Liberal Party from 1944 to 1967, he waged a lifelong battle to check the growth of socialization in Sweden

DIED, Frank Peavey Heffelfinger, 81, former chairman of Peavey Co., a century-old Minneapolis grain firm: in Minneapolis He spent his career in the family business but took time out to serve as regional director of the War Production Board under Franklin Roosevelt and as finance chairman of Dwight Eisenhower's Republican National Committee

DIED. John Diefenbaker, 83, "Mr. Conservative." the flamboyant prairie lawyer

who was Canada's Prime Minister from 1957 to 1963 and one of its most outspoken Members of Parliament for almost four decades; in Ottawa. Reared in the northlands of Saskatchewan. Diefenbaker won fame as a crack trial lawyer, before winning a long sought seat in the House of Commons in 1940. As Prime Minister he urged increased independence from the U.S., to be accomplished largely through the development of Canada's natural resources and the Arctic north Though an unwavering anti-Communist, he detested McCarthyism and promoted trade with China and ties to Cuba. Criticized for running a one-man show, "Dief the Chief' was eventually defeated by Liberal Lester Pearson, partly because he refused to arm Canada's NATO force with U.S. atomic weapons. Elected to Commons for a record 13th time last May, he appeared on TV five days before his death. decrying the divisions in his country. Suspicion, fear, all those things that deny unity are present

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# Sport

# Death in the South Irish Sea

Freak storm takes 18 lives in British yachting disaster

The warnings began crackling over the BIC just after midday, and by night-fall they were growing urgent: "Severe gale, Force 9, increasing strong Force 10, imminent: "Most of the 369 suchts in Birtian's 865-mile Fastnet race were already of the strong st

Then it hit, tearing into the fleet with Force 10 vmoils (between 55 and 63 m.p.h.) and waves up to 40 ft. Streaked 63 m.p.h.) and waves up to 40 ft. Streaked 63 m.p.h.) and waves up to 40 ft. Streaked view of the fleet of the

The tempest caused yacht racing's worst catastrophe. Eighteen people, including three sailors not officially entered in the race, were killed and scores injured. Among, the dead were three Americans who had been living in Britain: Frank H.

Ferris, 61. Robert, H. Robie, 63. and David Dicks, 31. Former British Prime Minister Edward Heath managed to sail into Plymouth unaided, although bruised and exhausted. Said he: "It was the worst experience! I have ever had." Twenty-three yachts were sunk or abandoned and uncounted others crippled; preliminary estimates put the damage at \$4.5 million or

The Royal Air Force and Royal Navy, massing their biggest rescue operation since World War II, prevented the death toll from being even worse. For 84 straight hours, eight helicopters, six naval vessels, and volunteer commercial ships ranged over 10,000 sq. mi., rescuing 136 sailors. When helicopters spotted survivors in the water, the choppers had to drop and rise like yeavys, trying to get in synchronization with the giant waves. The boats' tall masts made it impossible



to pluck yachtsmen from the decks. "The idea of jumping into those huge seas was appalling," said Frank Worley, a crewman on Camargue. In the end, we were all pushed in by the skipper."

At Culdrose and Plymouth, where survivors were treated or dispatched to hospitals, battered yachtsmen gave first-hand accounts of suffering and sorrow. Alan Bartlett, skipper of the British Tro-phy, recounted that his boat's life raft tore apart like tissue: "It was horrife to watch as men dropped into the sea, drifted away and drowned. They were my friends."

Fastnet, the centerpiece of ocean racings most important event, the five-race Admiral's Cup, runs from the five-race Admiral's Cup, runs from the laie of Wight to Fastnet Rock off the Irish coast and back to Plymouth. Yachtsmen who enter it and other offshore races prefer a stiff breeze and are ready for a full gale, at least in mid-ocean. But uss week's storm caught them in relatively shallow heights. In panie, some sailors apparently took to their life rafts too soon, abandoning boasts that were later found intact.

In recent years, suilboat designers have dared nature with lighter, faster and more fragile craft, a trend that no doubt contributed to last week's tragedy. Criticas quickly demanded tighter regulations on yacht construction and safety equipment, but sweeping measures are not likely to prevail in a sport so steeped in speed and risk. Said Ted Turner, the Atlantan able to face it all and come through it is exhibitanting. Sailing in rough weather is what the sport is sail about."



# Medicine



Nurse-midwife in Philadelphia counsels new mother on use of I.U.D.

# Rebellion Among the "Angels"

Nurses are no longer content to be the doctor's handmaiden

Once, they evoked images of quiet docility woman in white, aster of mercy, ministering angel. Walking soft-jythrough hospital corridors, tending to the ill and infirm, nurses did every duty from cleaning bedpans to assisting in surgery. They performed wearying, thankless tasks with such uncomplaining efficiency that doctors and patients alike could consider them the physician's handmaidens.

Not any more Today the angels are in rebellion Better educated, stirred by the feminist movement and caught up in the medical advances of the past generation, most of the nation's I million registered nurses are no longer content to be self-effacing Florence Nightingales They are demanding better pay (current average: \$13,000 a year), a stronger voice in patient care and, above all, freedom from what they consider the dominating attitude of doctors Says Connie Curran, associate dean of nursing at the University of San Francisco "Nurses are refusing to do the cleaning up after physicians: they're refusing to play the old malefemale game.

Signs of the rising new militancy are apparent in many places. In Los Angeles last month, 500 unionized nurses struck a Kaiser Permanente hospital in a contract squabble with the big health maintenance are now suing the city, charging sex more apparent in safary sealers. Nurses in such contraction in safary sealers, which is the contraction of the contr

trainee traffic-signal repairman. An even greater disparity exists with doctors, whose median income is now more than \$65,000 a year.

Some nurses have found that one route to better pay, to say nothing of avoiding drastically shifting hours, is to work only on a temporary basis, hiring out to hospitals through agencies. In California alone, there are about 800 such agencies;



Kinlein with "client" in Hyattsville, Md.

their popularity has created serious shortages among regular hospital nursing staffs Pay at Hollywood Presbyterian Hospital, for example, is \$93 a day (after agency fees) for a temporary is \$64 for a staff member

But working conditions are not nurses' only concern They want professional advancement. Nursing has long had such specialists as the nurse-midwife and the nurse-anesthetist who assisted at surgery But since the 1970s, the trend toward specialization has accelerated Many more nurses are devoting themselves exclusively to coronary care, renal dialysis, burns, neonatal care, cancer, psychiatry, pediatrics, respiratory disease and geriatries Called nurse practitioners, they number about 15,000. Some work closely with doctors in special units of hospitals or in offices. Others, particularly in rural areas. where physicians are scarce, practice virtually on their own: for example. Eleanora Fry of Horseshoe Bend, Idaho, who operates a clinic in a town of 500 Often they perform services once exclusively the preserve of physicians: physical checkups reading X rays, ordering lab tests and prescribing medications for complaints, such as vaginitis and hypertension.

A small but influential group of nuses has moved in a different direction Convinced that specialization, elaborate new machines and close collaboration with doctors reduce nurses to "medical technicians." They want to return to ruditional services such as counseling, educating a decomplishing and comforting in their view, baseful ser too bureaucratic to allow true nursers and complete the control of the cont

These practitioners act as independent health-care consultants. Accepting "clients" who may be tall, Accepting they play a role that sometimes seems to the play a role that sometimes seems to the play a role that sometimes seems to Ann Landers Insisting that "incitiones concerned with deasese mursing with health." they preach the gospel of preventive medicine—or "health promotion," as they call in Suys M Loulie Kinnelment of the play that the proportion of the play they are proportionally to think in a different concept, namely to think wellnes.

In the past, most nurses got their training in hospital-based schools After three years, they received diplomas and proudly wore caps emblematic of their schools. Today, as the profession attempts to uggrade tiself, more and more nurses are in the classroom rather than the ward, providing either two-year assecine degrees are in the classroom rather than the ward, the class of the classroom rather than the ward, the class of the classroom rather than the ward to be considered to the class of the

67,000 to 194,000 in the past decade) that more than half of traditional training programs have shut down for lack of students and money. One likely casualty, the 106-year-old diploma-nursing program at Boston's Massachusetts General Hospital. one of the nation's oldest

Last year a third of the graduating rses received baccalaureate degrees By 1985, the American Nurses' Association, the national professional organization of registered nurses, wants baccalaureate degrees to be a requirement for licensing of all "professional" nurses, those with diplomas or associate degrees would be designated "technical" nurses But even the B.S.N. may eventually not be enough. The National League for Nursing, a coalition of nursing administrators, educators and other leaders, argues that a nurse practitioner should have a master's degree. Some nursing officials are urging nurses to get Ph.D.s if they want to move on to teaching, research or ad-

According to doctors, baccalaureate programs are putting too much emphasis on sociological and psychological theories, neglecting pathophysiology (the study of disease processes) and failing to develop essential skills. The result: poor bedside nurses. In some schools, it is possible to earn a degree without ever being on night or solo duty, assisting at a delivery or performing such basic chores as catheterizations and suctioning lungs. Says Dr Lester Candela, a surgeon in Great Neck, N.Y. "When these women meet an emergency and are matched against more experienced hospital school students, they're often embarrassed and suffer by comparison." Diane McGivern. associate dean of the University of Pennsylvania School of Nursing, acknowledges these shortcomings in some new graduate nurses but defends the curriculum by explaining "We teach them problem-



solving abilities and the analytic approach tional issue confronting nurses is whethto handle situations

Many nurses from both hospital schools and degree programs echo the doctors' concern. Loretta Chiarelli, head nurse of the emergency ward at Manhattan's Bellevue Hospital Medical Center for twelve years, says that many young college graduates arrive ignorant of routine procedures Says she "These skills -let alone complex tasks-just are not easily mastered amid the tensions and emotions of a ward setting." Adds Rita Bellersen, a coronary-care nurse at Veterans Administration Medical Center in to rearrange their entire lives. But we're forgetting to change their beds and to bathe them."

Yet the toughest, perhaps most en

want to act as doctors, they should go to medical school." Activist nurses contend that the real reason for this obstinance is that physicians want to hold on to their economic power. Many doctors admit that up to 80% of all office care given by pediatricians and family practitioners could be handled by competent nurses Says Dr Leon Oettinger Jr. a pediatrician in San Marino, Calif "With its heavy reliance on physicians, the American medical system can be said to be using Cadillacs to do a tractor's job." That may not be the kindest analogy, but the Department of Health, Education and Welfare agrees with the basic analysis it has endorsed wider use of nurse practitioners in medical care as one way of keeping costs

er they should be directly supervised by

physicians. Many doctors favor expand-

ing nurses' responsibilities, letting them

handle minor problems, if only to give

physicians more time for more serious cases. Nurses often do this anyway, with

doctors' encouragement. But the majority

of physicians, including many of the new

trol. As they like to say "If nurses

down The objections of physicians do not center on money alone As Dr Arnold Relman, editor of the New England Journal of Medicine, explains "The risk of [using] nurse practitioners or any other kind of non-physician is that they do not have a broad and deep enough training to be aware of what they don't know Nurses and doctors ought to work together as a team, but I am concerned about the idea of a team without a team captain." For the patient, says Relman, the important issue is always "am I getting the best possible care?" It is also a question for those who will have to deliver that care



Refusing to clean up after doctors, balking at playing the old male-female game

# Sexes

# Women's War on Porn

Feminists take to the streets with a new battle cry

he scene: a seedy storefront in New York City's Times Square district. Inside a tawdry slide show is under way. The brutal image of a woman being raped flashes onto the screen, then another of a woman in the throes of masochistic ecstasy as she is strangled by her lover. Still other pictures show women being mutilated and even killed.

This is standard pornographic fare. but for the horrified spectators, most of them women, last week's show was a shocker. After they saw the slides, they headed into the street to inspect for themselves the district's lurid attractions that

No longer. Feminist organizations across the country have been waging local antiporn skirmishes of their own Against Violence Against Women campaigned successfully to get Paramount

In Seattle the chapter of Women Pictures to remove objectionable ads for its sexploitation film Bloodline. In Minneapolis earlier this month, some 4.500 women from several states marched through the city's red-light district behind a banner that read: WOMEN UNITE, TAKE BACK THE NIGHT. In Cambridge, Mass., a porn fighter fired a rifle shot in the middle of the night

Feminist Susan Brownmiller leads sightseeing tour of Times Square smut shops In a flurry of cross-country demonstrations, vowing to "Take Back the Night

include hookers (male and female), porn shops, topless hars and X-rated movies.

Organized by a group called Women Against Pornography, this unlikely female sortie is only one tactic in a new feminist cause: an all-out war against pornography. The rationale is that pornography is a significant factor in the nation's disturbing rate of sexual violence against women and children. One of the movement's organizers and a leader of the weekly Manhattan tours is Susan Brownmiller, author of Against Our Will, which contends that rape is a social and political instrument to oppress women. Adds Psychologist Phyllis Chesler: "For years women have been reluctant to speak out against pornography for fear of being called prudes or bluestockings or evoking the ridicule of men

into a Harvard Square bookshop that she said carried pornographic literature. With obvious hyperbole, Cleveland Antiporn Campaigner Sandra Coster says of the crusade: "It's the one thing women can unite on [because] we all

get raped and we all get beaten

As commendable as the feminists' objectives may seem, critics worry about their methods, explaining that they could undermine free speech, encourage the suppression of ideas and possibly lead to book burnings Says Harvard Law Professor Alan M. Dershowitz: "Women who would have the government ban sexist material are the new McCarthyites. It's the same old censorship in radical garb. But feminists, who plan to take their fight to state legislatures, insist that the issue is violence against women, not free speech. Says Brownmiller: "It's a myth that obscenity and pornography are protected by the First Amendment.

Perhaps the basic question is whether pornography really incites men to violence against women, or does the opposite-lets them sublimate their aggressive sexual fantasies in a relatively harmless way. The 1970 report of the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography implied that it did indeed serve as a useful social outlet. But since then, at least one of the study's authors is having second thoughts. Says University of Pennsylvania Sociologist Marvin Wolfgang The weight of evidence [now] suggests that the portrayal of violence tends to encourage the use of physical aggression among people who are exposed to it." Backed by such support. Brownmiller and other feminists have every intention of stepping up their fight, hoping to recruit still more converts to their cause.

# Role Reversal

Curbing transsexual surgery

N early 30 years ago, an ex-G.1. from The Bronx journeyed to Copenhagen to become blond Christine Jorgensen Ever since, sex-change operations have been performed routinely as a cure for serious sexual identity problems. Males were treated with hormones that encouraged loss of facial hair and growth of breasts: subsequent surgery transformed the scrotum and penis into a functioning vagina. In females, hormones were given to develop masculine characteristics. followed by the implantation of an artificial phallus Last week the surgery came under a

surprise attack. At Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, where about 50 sexchange operations have been performed since 1966, doctors announced they were abandoning the surgery for all but hermaphrodites (those born with male and female organs). Reason: a new study finds no difference in long-term adjustment between transsexuals who go under the scalpel and those who do not

Conducted by Psychiatrist Jon K. Meyer, director of the hospital's sexual consultation program, the study grew out of a concern that many transsexuals seeking surgery ranged in age from 20 to 30 (men outnumbering women 4 to 1). Somehow those over 30 seemed to have lost the desire for it, settling instead for alternate life-styles. So. in 1971. Meyer began keeping track of his patients' postoperative acceptance of their new gender. using such indicators as job placement. marital success, psychiatric status and police records. Concludes Meyer: the surgery "serves as a palliative measure [but] it does not cure what is essentially a psychiatric disturbance.

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Gasoline use is down so far this summer compared to last year. Service station lines have now diminished.

Crude oil supplies are tight, however, and an increase in driving could cause lines to reappear.





# Music

# The Bands of Summer

Street minstrels fill American cities with a joyful noise

ncient Athens had its bards. Medieval A France had its jongleurs; Elizabethan London, its ballad singers and costermongers. Today, U.S. cities have their street musicians: modern minstrels who weave their fragile melodies over the pedal point of trucks and subways, amid a chorus of honking horns and an obbligato of blaring transistor radios.

Day and night you find them, on museum steps, in parks and markets, along waterfronts and under arcades. The groups have antic names like the Tarmac Trio. Three-Part Invention and Dynamic Logs. Mimes, jugglers and fire-eaters often join in the act. Not far behind them come the hotdog vendors and balloon men. The minstrels provide the nation's most colorful, if casual, summer musical diversions

What's your pleasure? A "steel pianist" who plays Beethoven's Für Elise on the cut-off top of a 55-gal, oil drum? Step right up. A conga drummer with a silver earring in one nostril and a red gem in the other, or a classical guitarist in top hat, tails and tennis shoes? Right this way. String quartets, punk rockers, brass quintets, bagpipers, country crooners, dixieland stompers, ad hoc duos of every string, woodwind and percussive persuasion? Just around the corner.

At their feet an instrument case usually lies open. Listeners offer what they can-a few coins, flowonce astonished a Boston musician Capturing the least captive of audiences.

by removing his trousers and donating them. Best of all are the "silent offerings" (noiseless folding green). The average take is \$5 to \$10 an hour, but talent and a good location can raise



ers, a can of beer, a potato. A drunk Feins soothing commuters at a Boston subway station

that to \$30 or \$40, and occasionally more. Few are in it for the money anyway. Says Rich Schwagerl, a conservatory student who plays jazz in a Boston marimbavibraphone duo: "We're having a good time, making enough to cover expenses -gas, a few sodas-and catching a few rays." Moreover, says his partner. Richard Sprince, "good-looking babes come up and admire our musicianship.

An escape from four walls is the street musicians' major incentive. "I just wanted to do music without any kind of reviews, sales pitches, verbiage or anything-just music. says John Thomas, who plays folk music and Bach on his six-string guitar for strolling office workers in Washington. Boston Cellist Paul Stouthamer senses that "people are revolting against mechanical power. They're looking for a cello, they're looking for a flute."

Most of the performers are young, though an occasional patriarch emerges, like the banio-playing retired executive vice president of Filene's department store in Boston. Some are music students or card-carrying professionals. Others are moonlighting (or sunlighting) engineers. carpenters, bookkeepers. Among the assortment on this summer's scene: · Shanti Spaeth and her husband Karl regard street music as theater. They unashamedly cater to the tourists around Jackson Square, in New Orleans' French Quarter, by wearing ragtag getups and going barefoot. Karl. besides playing guitar, mandolin and trombone, laces their performances with his own political jokes and humorous songs (Ain't No Sin to Take off Your Skin and Dance Around in Your Bones). But all is seriousness when Shanii belts out blues or seats like Ella Fitigerald on Sain Dell. The couple were married nine days after meeting at a crafts fair in Orgon a year and a half ago. With the coming of hot weather in New Orleans, they decided to weather in New Orleans, they decided to markets are as years through fairs and markets and the seat of the seat

► Stephen Baird, 31, took to the streets during the antiwar crusade of the 1960s.

and has been there ever since. A guitarist and dulcimer player, as well as a singer, he ranges out from his Boston base to cities and campuses across the country, carrying word of protest movements and food coops wherever he goes. His favorite cause is

the another cause in noses for a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to write a book about its lore; its leading lights and its legal problems. Baiding, with thick wire-timmed spectades and the state of the same corod for the same

was past the make-or-break age for most vocalists. Now, two or three evenings a week, he stands in front of Broadway theaters, performing baritone arias from The Marriage of Figaro or La Traviata to the accompaniment of a tape recorder. A Yale liberal arts graduate and a former high school science teacher. Leuze has been trying to launch a career with small opera companies in the New York area. "It usually blows someone's mind to hear me in full voice on the street " he save Once, as he was approaching the climactic A-flat in the prologue to I Pagliacci, a bus stopped between him and his audience. Without missing a beat, he stepped into the bus, blasted out the A-flat, then hopped back onto the sidewalk as the startled driver and passengers rolled away.

All street musicians are vagabonds of the spirit. A few, like Baird and the Spaeths, are literal vagabonds as well, carried by caprice along informal circuits of such cities as Boston, San Francisco, Seattle, New Orleans and Key West. A folk quartet called the Nee Ningy Band has also covered Africa and Western and Eastern Europe during its ten-year career. Consisting of fiddle, harmonica, bodhran (a flat goatskin drum) and penny whistle, the group takes its name from the sound the fiddle makes-nee ningy, nee ningy, nee ningy. Its members carry camping equipment, often stay in local homes. Says Violinist Rachel Maloney: "You learn to live with the insecurity, just as you learn to live with security

San Francisco's Grimes Poznikov, who plays trumpet from inside a 6-ft, canvas box and bills himself as the "automatic human jukebox," rates cities by numbers. 14 for Seattle, 22 for New York, and so on The numbers are his estimate of how many minutes a street musies of soliciting or creating a disturbance. Cops, like rain, are a prime occupational hazard Boston licenses its performers for \$10. Other cities give the police wide discretion to act on complaints about noise. or

o piay music critic.

Increasingly, shopping centers and
civic institutions are recruiting street musicians
instead of complaining

instead of complaining about them. Boston's Ouincy Market. Manhattan's Lincoln Center and San. Francisco's Cannery all audition or actually hire them for scheduled performances. In Boston, a nonprofit

group called Articulture Inc. deploys street musicians at three subway stops during rush hours, which "lowers the collective blood pressure." Currently, commuters at the Park Street station are be-mused to encounter Nancy Feins strumning the strains of C.P.E. Bach on the harp. "One woman asked me if this was a harpsichord," says Feins. "Another

person swore it was the inside of a piano."
Purists may deplore such organized programs, but most musicians welcome them. No matter how gratifying it is for its own sake, street performing remains a perpetual audition. Few titnerant musicians would turn down a club date, TV shot or record contract.

Meantime, the street gives them a valuable apprenticeship in capturing the least captive of audiences. Pedestrians, after all, have their minds on bills and backaches rather than on Telemann partitus.



Trio on Manhattan's 52nd Street

With no investment in a ticket, they find it easiest to review a performance with their feet: they keep on walking, Henes as by-Gd spontanous response is the Spc-Gd spontanous response is the sea to musicians? sweetest reward. A Seattle group-called Brandywine (violin. hammer dulcimer, guitar, bass) will always cher in the moment during the Fat Tuesday celebration when its galloping rendition of the William Tell Overnier so inflamed a most of the William Tell Overnier so inflamed a most of the William Tell Overnier so inflamed a most of the William Special Spe



Brandywine (bass, violin, hammer dulcimer and guitar) in Seattle's Pioneer Square Having a good time and catching a few rays at a perpetual audition.

# Art

# Invasion of the Plaster People

At New York's Whitney Museum, a Segal introspective

Silent, muffled in form, tinged with the pathos of the discarded chrysalis. dubbed it: and it gives a special density to the retrospective of 100 works by Se-George Segal's plaster figures have kept their place on the edge of modernism for the better part of 20 years. They have also shown how art changes one's reading of other art. In the early 1960s, when Segal -the son of a New Jersey chicken farmer

first emerged as a sculptor, he was identified with Pop art. This happened because some of his tableaux had an aggressive, urban character and used real props: stacks of oil cans, winking beer

gal that is on display at Manhattan's Whitney Museum

One reason for the popularity of Segal's work is its material: plaster casts from live bodies. Because there was once a person inside each of the shells, they have the slightly eerie factuality of a petrified tree, a fossil or (as has often been said) that great tourist attraction of Southern Italy, the plaster molds of dead Pompeians. Now and again, Segal made an

The Costume Party, begun in 1965: earnestness, hallucination and abstract underpinnings.

neons, even the inside of a scrapped subway car, with seats, hanging straps, lights and all. Some 15 years later, after a revival of realism in American art that Segal, among others, helped to set off this plaster molds, for instance, are the direct ancestors of Duane Hanson's ultrarealist wax people), his connections to Pop look tenuous indeed. In this changed context, it is the figures and their mood, rather than their surrounding artifacts, that one notices first; and they connect to an older realist tradition, far from the self-consciousness and media-play of Pop. They resemble, as the late Mark Rothko once said. "walk-in Hoppers," sculptural equivalents to the world of that American master, with its nocturnal bars and waiting figures. Segal's tableaux have a flavor of the '30s-overlaid, now and then, with a sharp erotic curiosity. Instead of the irony of a '60s Warhol or Lichtenstein, one is treated to an unremitting earnestness. a moral concern with the voids between people and the circumspectness of their gestures. It is a somber sight, this "populist art," as one of Segal's admirers

effigies of those New York Pompeians of the '60s, the collectors Robert and Ethel Scull, she complete with sunglasses and Courrèges boots. But as a rule. Segal's figures are not identifiable. They are generalized, spectral presences, muffled in the folds of calcitied gauze, their skin roughened with residual abstract-expressionist stooped Gerontion in Segal's Hot Dog Stand, 1978, is a cast of the sprightly museum director Martin Friedman: what does count is the peculiar tension between his dark shape and the bright white figure of the waitress, under the glare of the lit mock-Mondrian ceiling.

identifiable portrait; the show includes the

There is always something ominous about Segal's images: no American sculptor today runs his work closer to theater. The theatricality becomes particularly intense in his painted sculptures. where the coating of figures with primary red. yellow or blue gives them a ferocious visual punch while rendering them, in Segal's words, "more like abstract shafts of color." To take the colors associated with the most rigorous abstractionists of 20th century art - Mondrian and Barnett Newman-and use them in a piece like The Costume Party, begun in 1965, has a perverse aspect The narrative of the sculpture remains opaque (what is a figure of Ian Fleming's Pussy Galore in a bike helmet doing in the same place as the donkeyheaded Bottom from Midsummer Night's Dream?), but its intention is plain-to provoke a sense, as Segal puts it, of "terror, hallucination, nightmare

Strong feeling does not necessarily make strong art, and Segal's tableaux might remain in the category of dramatic curiosities but for one quality his laconic rightness of arrangement. "In his use of space," one of the catalogue essays rather absurdly claims. "Segal is close to the minimalists." because apparently, "Segal's figures energize their spaces." (And what sculpture, minimal or other, does not?) Nevertheless, Segal knows exactly how much distance to allot between one figure and another, how much emptiness should come between a silhouette in a bar and the profile of a metal letter. and how to maintain a kind of iconic austerity in an impure medium that could easily become cluttered with props and set dressing Segal is no formalist, but his sense of the abstract underpinning of sculpture cuts down on what might otherwise have become a tough-but-tender street sentimentality. He is, as the catalogue suggests. a "proletarian mythmakthough not in a political sense, and no other sculptor working in America today has done more to revive the human figure as a subject - Robert Hughes



George Segal's Hot Dog Stand, 1978 Under the Mondrian, an ominous theater

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## **Press**

### All the News Fit to Hear

Public radio is doing just fine, all things considered

1's time for Gimme Shelters'— Americu's favorie tas-planning fin game." Today's big contestant: Susan Stamberg She beats the clock and correctly idensed to the control of the control of the chance at an Individual Retirement ocunt. Applause and organ music crupt in the radio studio But on Round 2 she chance to "become a limited partner in a chance to "become a limited partner in a field." Susan has to settle for an electric field." Susan has to settle for an electric the ear-throb of legions of listeners—2 million flip the dial to it at least one day a week, and some 150 send mash notes weekly

The show opens with a 5-min news roundup much like those of the commercial networks. followed by a cascade of 15 to 18 features, each ranging upwards of 3 min. in length. Straightforward accounts of Andrew Young's resignation and the Mexican oil spill may be followed by playful reports on a teen-age Soviet

Susan Stamberg and Bob Edwards at National Public Radio's studio in Washington

"It's like a short-order restaurant. You wonder how they get the food out on time saucepan "Until tomorrow," says a smar- | black marketeer (\$100 for blue to

No. it is not radio's answer to television's Meed of Fortune or \$20,000 Pyramid. And no. Susan Stamberg is not out to make a deal, or even to see if the price is right. She is co-host of All Things Considered surely the most literate trenchant and entertaining news program on radio Commo Sheler's was typical of the show. Current scene, in this case, federal retirement tas policy.

my announcer as applause and music

swell, "Remember Give us shelter!"

For 90 min cach weekday and an hour on Saturdays and Sundays cat 5 p.m. in most places). All Things Considered's bouillabasise of hard news, light features and background reports is heard on 200 noncommercial stations. The show is the flagship program of National Public Radio, the aural counterpart of TV's Public Bradecasting Service It is also

black marketeer (\$100 for blue peans, \$200 for a new Kiss album) or an interview with Marxist Professor Bertell Ollman, who invented the board game Class Struggle When interest rates soared last week. All Tilmus Connidered explained the event by staging a 10-min mock Italian opera, with professional singers, or companies and companies and companies of the compa

Once rather unpolished compared with commercial radio. All Timus Considered is now as smooth as a game show with catchy electronic musc between segment and the considered in the considered with a really holds the show together is the co-hosts Stamberg 40. Former manager of Washington's public station WAMU, who signed on as a large editor at the program's meeption in 1971, and flot Euleman and the consideration of the consider

Washington's all-news commercial station Stambergs site keys to the program's ingratiating charm. In interviews the is confliding and insoucauti, first distarming her subjects, then enlisting them in a delicious conspiring? Her secter: "I'm not elicious conspiring? Her secter: "I'm not endersased to engly what I do The idea is to be a mensh." On Oct. 13, Stamberg will help Jimmy Carter field listeness, questions over NPR on the second call-in show of his presidency.

During the show's threadbare early days, Stamberg had to do so much of her own reporting and interviewing that she felt like Sisyphus confronting "a huge boulder that had to be pushed up the mountain each night." Today All Things from 13 full-time and scores of part-time reporters around the world, and from special contributors like Heywood Hale Broun ton sport and whimsy) Daniel Schorr (politics and polemics) and Kim Williams of Missoula, Mont (natural foods and rural arcana) NPR correspondents have a reputation for enterprising reporting, especially in Washington, Says CBS White House Correspondent Lesley Stahl: "They have one of the best news staffs around."

All Things Consuerea exemplified that tem-wide renaissance at NPR that began two years ago when Frank Mankiewicz, 55, onetime press secretary for Robert Kennedy and campaign manager for George McGovern, became the network's president NPR's stipend from the Government-established Corporation for Public Broadcasting, its chief benefactor. increased from \$7 million to \$12 million this year. NPR has requested \$19 million next year, and with outside contributions. Mankiewicz proposes to spend a total of \$24 million, including \$1.6 million for a new morning news program to begin in November and \$3.3 million for All Things Considered. The show's budget is only a fraction of what commercial networks spend on news, and Mankiewicz marvels at NPR's results "It's like a short-order restaurant. You wonder how they get the food out on time

Sometimes All Things Considered is too good to be true Stamberg and Business Reporter Robert Krulwich once took a routine White House press release about gifts received by President Carter and turned it into a make-believe, item-byitem tour of the White House gift storage room Sound effects were used to simulate squeaking doors, echoing footsteps and breaking glass, when Stamberg ended the piece by accidentally "dronning" a porcelain Boehm figurine given to Carter by a society of professional mediators Sure enough, one angry listener wrote to complain that the reporters must have used illegal means to invade the President's private quarters

## **Capital Reading**

National Journal tells all

he unaccustomed reader is first put off by the loose-leaf holes along the spine of the magazine's austere brown cover; an invitation to scholars and librarians, he thinks. Vowing to persevere, he skips stories about the Rotterdam oil market and campaign-financing laws and tries one examining the computer industry's relations with the Labor Department. Uninvited daydreams about the Maryland shore intrude. He tries reading "Congress and the Dairy Industry." Muscles relax, the heartbeat slows. Then he turns to "Managing the National Grain Reserves." Zzzzzzzz

No one ever said reading the National Journal was easy, and therein lies its appeal. Launched ten years ago by the Government Research Corp., a small capital consulting firm, the Journal was orginally intended as a tool for businessmen and lobbyists in dealing with Government. But the magazine has also proved indispensable to bureaucrats and legislators. and today that dense, no-fooling Washington weekly has 4.000 subscribers, each willing to pay \$345 annually. "We're a sophisticated trade magazine for those involved in policymaking," says Publisher John Fox Sullivan, and the Journal is every bit as thorough-and sometimes as dull-as this mandate would suggest Washington's shakers and movers, along with many of the shaken and the moved read it scrupulously. The White House has 75 subscriptions. Congress more than 400, and the press corps countless more Confesses Stuart Eizenstat, the President's domestic affairs adviser. "I read it to find out what's happening at the White

ach issue contains about ten storiesfrom exhaustive examinations of major public issues to sure-footed treks through the bureaucracy to thoughtful political analyses-ranging in length from 1,500 to 15,000 words. Although its purview includes all the works and pomps of Government, the Journal emphasizes the Executive Branch, By contrast Congress sional Quarterly, a crosstown rival of sorts. tends to look at Washington from the vantage point of Capitol Hill. The Journal has a relatively large staff of twelve fulltime reporters and five contributing editors. With a generous two to three weeks to work on projects, they often beat their capital colleagues to important but not so obvious stories. Staff Correspondent Robert J. Samuelson's examination last year of the growing impact of the elderly on the federal budget, for instance, touched off a wave of similar articles in the general press and this year won a prestigious National Magazine Award.

Once as somber as the Federal Register, the Journal is now sprinkled with photographs and cartoons. This concession to the 20th century was engineered



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Press



Stout and Sullivan in Journal office

We're a sophisticated trade magazine.

by Sullivan, former assistant publisher of Newsweek International, who was brought in four years ago by Anthony C Stout. one of the Journal's founders and chairman of its parent company. Sullivan has loosened the magazine in other ways as well. An understated but chatty "People" section keeps readers posted on the doings of Government and media luminaries, and an "Update" column concisely covers developments along such newsfronts as national health insurance, coalburning rules and tax cut alternatives A regular feature called "At a Glance" cap-sulizes the status of 24 major bills, regulations, court cases and other issues. The magazine has even begun to crack a smile on occasion. Not long ago, for instance. Correspondent Richard Corrigan parodied Howard Cosell in an article about the congressional battle over President Carter's first energy plan

Three years ago, the Journal began selling space to individuals and interest groups that want to put their money (51.500 a page) where their mouths are. Former HEW Secretary Joseph A. Califano Jr. held forth for seven pages (paid for by Xerox Corp.) on the economics of aging, and Jimmy Carter was given two aging, and Jimmy Carter was given two the control of the c

This year the Journal expects to move into the black for the first time. "We vegot more than an 85% renewal rate and our circulation is growing." Beasts Editor Richard Frank But the warm breeze of success should not be misconstrued as a prevailing wind for making the magazine, perish the thought, popular Says Sullivan very firmly. "We are definitely not thinking that way."

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## Books

## Steps off the Beaten Path

COLLECTED STORIES: 1939-1976 by Paul Bowles Black Sparrow; 417 pages; \$14 hard-cover, \$6 pages

aul Bowles is a Renaissance man born into an age that applauds specialization. Doing several things very well indeed has, paradoxically, brought him less public acclaim than he might have received had he stuck to one. Bowles, 68, has been a distinguished composer; in 1947 Musician Virgil Thomson called him "America's most original and skillful composer of chamber music." He has written music for the stage, particularly for the plays of his friend Tennessee Williams. He has also been a tireless collector of folklore and legends, especially from Morocco, where he has lived on and off since the early 1930s. There he and his wife, the late novelist Jane Bowles, presided over a lively colony of literary émigrés and pilgrims. Bowles translated Sartre and founded Antaeus, a superb quarterly; his publications include novels (The Sheltering Sky, Let It Come Down). collections of poetry and short stories. travel essays, oral histories translated from the North African Moghrebi dialect and an autobiography. His work has been highly esteemed by other writers, including a few (Norman Mailer, Gore Vidal) with no love for each other. Yet Bowles remains less familiar to general readers than dozens of his inferiors

Collected Stories: 1939-1976 provides a chance to isolate and trace one strand of Bowles' remarkable career. The book's 39 tales are not only worth reading on their own, but their assembly should dispel several myths that have grown up around Bowles' work. First, spreading his talent wide has not meant that he spread it thin; any short list of the best contemporary American stories should include two or three from this volume. Second. Bowles' reputation as a pitiless chronicler of the bizarre and sadistic is undeserved: many of his stories are unquestionably grotesque, but the impact of this collection is much more complex and humane.

he essential Bowles plot charts a clash

The essential power process one usually between two cultures, one usually Western and the other primitive. Primitive almost always gets the home court advantage; Bowles favors settings in North Africa, near the deadly lure of the Sahara, or in stifling, vegetation-choked places in Mexico or South America Visitors come to feast on the picturesque and take one step too many off the beaten path. From that point on, they are more truly on their own than they ever dreamed possible Sometimes their fate is terrible. In A Distant Episode, a linguistics professor studying North African dialects stumbles foolishly into the hands of a gang of marauding nomads: they cut out his tongue and then teach him clownish tricks to perform at their revels. Other interlopers get gentler treatment. In Pastor Dowe at Tacaté, an ineffectual missionary is driven away from an Indian village by

### Excerpt

The primeval freshness. spilled down out of the jungle above the house, was held close to the earth by the mist. Outside and in, it was damp and smelled like a florist's shop, but the dampness was dispelled each day when the stinging sun burned through the thin cape of moisture that clung to the mountain's back. Living there was like living sideways, with the land stretching up on one side and down on the other at the same angle. Only the gorge gave a feeling of perpendicularity; the vertical walls of rock on the opposite side of the great amphitheatre were a reminder that the center of gravity lay below and not obliquely to one side. Constant vapor rose from the invisible pool at the bottom, and the distant, indeterminate calling of water was like the sound of sleep itself.

an act of generosity; local custom obliges him to accept a villager's seven-year-old daughter as his wife

Bowles' outsiders can be predators as well as victims. A city woman in At Paso Rojo visits her brother's ranch and makes a pass at one of his Indian employees; he loses his job as a consequence. After causing this injustice, the woman "shrugged her shoulders, got into the bed . out the lamp, listened for a few minutes to the night sounds, and went peacefully to sleep, thinking of how surprisingly lit-





A North African landscape in Tangier, Morocco, a colorful and recurrent backdrop in the short stories of Author and Composer Paul Bowles Charting a clash between two cultures, one usually Western and the other primitive, which almost always gets the home-court advantage

### Books

tle time it had taken her to get used to life at Paso Rojo, and even, she had to admit now, to begin to enjoy it." Bowles' irony passes by like a night chill The woman is not "getting used to" life at the ranch but operverting it.

One Bowles character jots down a "recipe for dissolving the impression of hideousness made by a thing: Fix the attention upon the given object or situation so that the various elements, all familiar, will regroup themselves Frightfulness is never more than an unfamiliar pattern Bowles may believe this, but his stories regularly do the reverse. They fix the attention on beauty and then suggest the frightfulness within Pages from Cold Point, Bowles' best, ceriest tale, paints an idyllic Jamaican setting But the narrator soon learns that his 16-year-old son is homosexual and has been cruising in dangerous native waters. Violence must be forestalled. The father is too civilized to confront the boy with what he knows, nor can he tell him to stop. So he allows his son to seduce him

Readers who remember this iridescent forget that it is also about sacrifice and love Similarly. The Time of Friendship can be mistaken for a bleak vision of estrangement. On one of her annual visits to the Sahara, a Swiss schoolteacher befriends a poor young Muslim boy They develop a bond that the teacher hopes will lead to mutual understanding. Their differences remain too great, as the teacher learns "She had assumed that somehow his association with her had automatically been for his ultimate good, that inevitably he had been undergoing a process of improvement as a result of knowing her In her desire to see him change, she had begun to forget what Slimane was really Worse still, revolution is afoot in North Africa, and the local French officer orders her to go Yet the poignancy of her leave-taking, with the young man running beside her departing train "until all at once there was no more platform. represents triumph as well as defeat Sadness is possible where before there had been only indifference

In a haunting tale called The Circular Valley, Bowles portrays an Atlájala, an anima or genius loci that can inhabit the bodies of all creatures Local Indians know enough to stay away, but over the centuries monks come and, then, robbers and soldiers; the Atlajala is fascinated at the complexities he finds when he looks out through the eyes of men Finally, a man and woman unhappily in love enter the valley, and the spirit enters him. It finds "a world more suffocating and painful than the Atlajala had thought possible "Within the woman, though, "each element was magnified in intensity, the whole sphere of being was immense, limitless." At the top of his art. Bowles is an anima; to inhabit this book is to experi-Paul Gray ence pain and immensity



Edward Clark's Dakota apartment building on Central Park West in Manhattan, circa 1895

## **Talking Walls**

LIFE AT THE DAKOTA: NEW YORK'S MOST PECULIAR ADDRESS by Stephen Birmingham

Random House; 241 pages, \$12.50

n one who saw Rosemary's Buby is N likely to forget the fortress that housed the satanic gathering. In real life. however, the forbidding turrets and gables guard one of the oldest, ritziest and most famous apartment buildings in Manhattan. It is the Dakota, behind whose 2ft.-thick brick walls live such celebrities as Lauren Bacall, Roberta Flack, and John Lennon and Yoko Ono, who own some 28 rooms throughout the Dakota and who once held a seance to commune with departed tenants Other famous occupants have included Leonard Bernstein. Judy Holliday and Boris Karloff, plus several purported house ghosts. The Dakota is just the haunt, then, for Stephen Birmingham, who has made a living off the rich ("Our Crowd," The Right People, The Grandees) and famous (Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis)

A \$1 million apartment house was considered a folly in the 1880s, when Entrepreneur Edward Clark broke ground west of Central Park at 72nd Street Rich New Yorkers had never favored apartment living. The site was also so far north and west of fashionable society that it was nicknamed the Dakota after the remote Western territory. Yet Clark went ahead with his ersatz castle, variously described as German Renaissance and Victorian château. The architecture and appointments, as Birmingham puts it, were meant to "convey the impression that, though one might be living in an apartment house, one was really living in a mansion.

The illusion succeeded Between 1884 and 1929, there was not one vacancy in the monumentally ostentatious building.

It had inlaid marble floors, a rooftop promenade with gazebos, an English barronial dining hall and a uniformed staff of 150 But then the Dakota was no more extravagant than the age in which it was built Although the building looked out over a vista of squatters' shacks in Central Park, society's reigning Four Hundred might spend \$200,000 on a single ball

Birmingham's Dakotiana contain many aneeddoes, including one about Tchaikovsky, who thought that the entire building belonged to Musse Publisher Gustas Schirmer. No wonder we composers are so poor. The wrote in his diary "Mr Schirmer is rich beyond dreams. He times in a palace bigger than the Cart's". There was also old Miss Leo, who lived in a 17-room apartment with her fasoritie.



Stephen Birmingham Tchaikovsky and a stuffed horse

# FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

WAS HE GUILTY OF A 1941 WATERGATE?



Was the President of the United States part of a conspiracy in the early 1940's to involve the U.S. in World War II on the side of the British?

The answer is yes, according to evidence only recently revealed. Evidence of a covert operation involving 300 British secret agents based in Manhattan's Rockfeller Center, headed by master spy "Intrepid." Of plumbers units, dirty tricks, tapped phones, forged evidence, seduction—all with the purpose of discrediling the antiwarmovement in America. Evidence, in sum, of a conspiracy between the British and the highest officials of the United States government to violate this country's laws. Tuesday night, CBS News Correspondent.

Tuesday night, CBS News Correspondent Mike Wallace uses the same hard-hitting investigative expertise of 60 Minutes reports to reveal an astonishing, yet little known story out of the American past.



### Books

carriage horse, stuffed and mounted, and Princess Mona Faisal, who, when asked her occupation, wrote "Saudi Arabia."

As usual. Birmingham has a good ear for the beau jest and a breezy way with the gossip of the upper crust. Yet his observations can be cloying, as when he fussily distinguishes Class (usually confined to Manhattan's East Side) from Chic (the stars and artists on the West Side). "In New York it is chic to have money, but not too much money" is the sort of meaningless throwaway line that mars Birmingham's social profiles. His book is nonetheless diverting-except where the Dakota's future is concerned. Economically, the building seems doomed: an appraiser in 1960 found it "basically outmoded both in exterior appearance and interior design." He estimated that the land was then worth \$3.8 million, but could find no value in the building. It has always run at a loss: much of its interior is wasted in meandering corridors and culde-sacs. Birmingham gives the Dakota only a fifty-fifty chance of survival. It would be a shame to see it go. "Paris and London, while also experiencing grave landmark crises, have so much more margin for error," says Frederic Weinstein. one concerned tenant. "We have so much more to lose because we have so much less to begin with. - Annalya Swan

## **Out Like Flynn**

MADE IN AMERICA by Peter Maas Viking: 347 pages: \$10.95

Maile in America seems at first busis an odd title for a novel about the Mafia. but Peter Mans should be forgiven his irony. Sicility's best-known export has, of course, become as American as frozen pizza. As Mass has shown in The Valeatin Papers and Seepice. Cosa Nosstra reaches, fair below the imperial readins of processing sections of the processing section of the processing s

The all-American slob-hero of Maas' book is Richie Flynn, 33, a poor Irish boy from Manhattan who had a flurry of fame as a New York Giants' running back eleven years earlier. Though still honored on the saloon beat, where he peddles Goldblatt beer. Flynn has gnawing dreams of recaptured affluence. His road to riches is outlined for him by a city hall insider. who shows the ex-jock how he can buy a building condemned by the city and lease it back to New York as a day care center. All Richie needs is title to an abandoned synagogue in the South Bronx: for \$50,000 (\$10,000 down), he will be able to unload the building on the city for \$125,000 a year for 15 years. Until this kind of scam was exposed a few years ago, it was almost as lucrative as a cardcarrying membership in OPEC

To get his down payment, Richie must



Peter Maas

A comedy of terrors on both sides of the law. go to the Mafia, where he is quickly im-

paled on the meat hooks of 243-lb. Albert ("King Kong") Karpstein, a.k.a. The Animal, a.k.a. Milky, for his diet of Milky Way chocolate bars. A part-time enforcer for Joe Hobo, a.k.a. Joe Hoboken, a.k.a. Joseph Jacovelli, the simian Karpstein is a semidemented Jew whose appeal to his Italian bosses lies in the imagination and diligence he brings to his work. He would as soon see his creditors default as pay. for the added diversion of carving them up. But Milky is also an independent Shylock, one of the biggest and most ruthless around, as Maas describes with relish. Sure, he can advance Flynn \$12,500 for 30 days in return for \$20,000 in on-thedot weekly payments

In his euphoria, Richie acquires a oneseventh part of an expensive call girl and recovers some of the old Giants swagger Inevitably his deal with the city dies, and Richie faces a similar fate at the hands of King Kong Flynn is saved temporarily because of a minor Mafia dispute. A more permanent sal-vation is offered by the Thi and an ambitious new special prosecutor. Hamilton Wainwright or one of the control of the control of the corriol of the control of the control of the corriol of the control of the control of the tension of the control of the control of the corriol of the control of the control of the corriol of the control of the control of the corriol of the control of the control of the corriol of the control of the control of the corriol of the control of the control of the corriol of the control of the control of the corriol of the control of

Author Maas novel is a comedy of terrors that is all the more absorbing because of the methods used by both sides the law bending the law, the mob makthe law bending the law, the mob makthe law bending the law the law to Wainwright is out to get despite his noninvolvement in the case, rowes free as a baccie ball. King Kong, among others, is appropriately retired by his own associates. Amazingh, Richie Plynn comes out back to selling boose.

Made in America is brutal, often fun-

ny, and all to realistic. Maas is never senimental or pious. his Mafiosi trail no clouds of glamour. They are, in fact, a griny bunch, as are many of the law-andorder boys they do business with. Grimier still is the author's unspoken truth catering to the needs of the desperate, loan the service of the service of the control of the bearound at least as long as neighborhood banks with their milder methods of foreclosure. — Michael Demarest

### Editors' Choice

FICTION: A Bendin the River. V.S.
Natipaul • Living in the Maniototo.
Janes Frame • Mirabell: Books of
Number. James Mervill • Sitespose
Nights. Elizabeth Hardwisch
Sophie's Choice. William Styron
Testimony and Demeanor. John
Casey • The Living End. Stanley
Eliza

NONFICTION: Blood of Spain. Romali Frazer • IL Love: The Story of Vladimir Mayakovsky and Liti Brik. Ann and Samuel Clarters • The Disk of Deception. Geoffrey Wolff The Medusa and the Smail. Lewis Thomat. • The Necconservatives. Peers Sterifict • The White Album. Joan Didion • When Memory. Comes. Saul Friedlinder

### **Best Sellers**

FICTION

1. Sophie's Choice.

Styron (I last week)

2. The Matarese Circle.

2. The Matarese

3. Class Reunion, Juffe (4)

4. The Island, Benchley (3)

5. The Last Enchantment.

Stewart (9) 6. There's No Such Place as

Far Away, Bach (8)

7. Shibumi, Trevanian (5) 8. War and Remembrance, Wouk (7)

9. The Third World War.

Hackett, et al. (6) 10 Chesapeake, Michener (10)

NONFICTION

The Complete Scarsdale Medical
 Diet, Tarnower & Baker (1)

Cruel Shoes. Martin (2)
 The Pritikin Program for Diet

and Exercise. Prinkin with McGrady (3)

4 The Powers That Be.

 How to Prosper During the Coming Bad Years. Ruff (5)
 The White Album.

Didion (7)
7. The Medusa and the Snail.

Thomas (6) 8 The Bronx Zoo.

Lyle & Golenbock (8) 9 Broca's Brain, Sagan (10)

10. Mommie Dearest. Crawford









William Styron Sophies Choice

War-weary soldier in scene from TV's G.I. Diary (upper left), the real invasion of two Jima (center) and shot from new film Soldier of Orange

## Time Essay

## W.W. I I: Present and Much Accounted For

W ar, as Jonathan Swift put it, is that "mad game the world so loves to play." If the game is even madder these days because of the threat of nuclear annihilation, the world has learned to keep alive humanity's facination with it by doing what both Homer and the fible did so well: replaying the big wars at a sub-uniner. Almone 40 years after it began, just 34 de War III as a declaration. Almone 40 years after it began, just 34 de War III the biggest war in history, is thriving today with remerkable viegor in the minds and imaginations of Americans.

It is the subject of more and more solemn study and the focus of boundless popular curiosity. It has become at truly prodigal fountainhead of entertainment, inspiring everything from and even finitasis that have been coming first inspirit, strillers and even finitasis that have been coming first in this produce tories, novels, movies and television shows. Furthermore, say experts who keep an eye on such trends, although it has not yet given birth to a Gone With the Wind, World War II is at last supgiven birth to a Gone With the Wind. World War II is at last suplen, ponderina and—to be honest—embrying.

More than 10 and 10 and

list for 44 weeks, nor that this year's big novel, William Styron's Sophie's Choice, is haunted by echoes of the Holocaust. But the world of print provides only part of the evidence of sharpening interest in the war. Novels such as The Boys from Brazil. The Eagle Has Landed and Soldier of Orange have found their way into the movies, and Ken Follett's Eye of the Needle is about to-even as he puts together yet another World War II saga. If World War II films have naturally been less numerous than books, they have also-ever since George C. Scott swaggered across the screen in Patton in 1970—tended to be more spectacular and ambitious. TV is cluttered with World War II documentaries and dramas, ranging from the recent six-hour reprise of Ike's war years to perennial showings of The Commanders. The popular real-life espionage book A Man Called Intrepid is only one that has been translated into a television series. Last September, 80 stations all over the country began regularly feeding out a 25-episode presentation of World War II: G.I. Diary, a journal of obscure heroism. Undoubtedly, however, TV's varied World War II material was highlighted by 1978's blockbusting 91/4-hour series Holocaust. Now all networks, in the words of CBS Special Projects Director Mae Helms, are trying to come up with their own Holocaust.

It is impossible not to wonder why the nation has got caught up in such a weller of war fore. True, some keen public curiosity needs no special explanation. After all, most Americans now over age 34 experienced the war in civies if not in uniform: the war is their own story. There are, however, some other specific reasons for the new intensity of interest.

Partiy, it is because an abundance of fresh information has become available lately through the disclosure of previously se-cret documents. Britain took the wraps off its secrets in 1972, and to U.S. did the same in stages completed in 1975. Authors promptly went lurching after never-tod-before stories. A notation of the control of th

The U.S. shift away from confrontation with Russia to its

### Essay

present policy of detente has also impelled many scholars to take a fresh look at the cold war, that byproduct of World War II. Many of the origins of the cold war sprang from decisions made during hostilities. The Allied decision to halt Patton on his dash toward Berlin, for example, isolated the German capital and made it a focal point of confrontation in the postwar era. Says History Professor Robert Dallek of U.C.L.A.: "We have to go back. Where we are now is a direct result of what evolved during that time." To his own surprise, Dallek's newly published F.D.R. and American Foreign Policy, 1932-45, has sold, instead of a few volumes to scholars as might have been expected, 10,000 copies in three months. Says the author: "It's a hot

It is hot for yet another reason, and that is the peculiar mood that has been hanging over the public for a while now. It is the fretful unease that is often attributed to bruises left by the Viet Nam War, the anxiety over the fragmented and amorphous texture of public esprit, over the conspicuous lack of any binding or driving national unity. This atmosphere has made older Americans homesick for, and younger ones curious about, an epoch of legendary solidarity and singular national purpose The larger character of the time, its heroic texture, can be evoked by a simple iteration of the names of its outsized leaders and commanders: Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, De Gaulle, Marshall,

Eisenhower, Montgomery, Bradley, Patton, MacArthur. Nimitz. It can also be summoned up by the war's slogans and crucial place names: unconditional surrender. D-day. Normandy, the Bulge, Anzio, Guadalcanal, Hiroshima, V-J day. Many a vicarious pilgrimage to that lost time is being made these days, and among those who have noticed the fact is Robert Kane, a West Pointer who founded San Francisco's

specialize in military books. was the last patriotic war. We were attacked. We had a reason to get involved. It was a very, very clean war

Many Americans, then, have simply found it refreshing, or nourishing, to look back to a time when, as Eric Sevareid puts it, "there were the white hats and the black hats." And surely now is the season for looking back, when most veterans of the war have entered those graying middle years when thoughtful retrospection becomes virtually compulsive. Now, as well, their offspring have matured enough to have some serious curiosity about the days of challenge and sacrifice and blood and glory that the elders keep bragging they went through.

Il these amount to millions who, as it was put by Frank Cool-All these amount to finitely with a ling, historian at the U.S. Army Military History Institute at Carlisle Barracks, Pa., want to find out not only "what I did in the war" but also "what Daddy did in the war." Cooling is familiar with such quests. His institute has been so busy keeping up with groups studying World War II that it worries about falling behind on cataloguing war material it exists to preserve.

No mere handful of explanations can possibly account for all the motives of Americans who feast on World War II lore. Readers quite indifferent to the war might study a monster like Hitler, who could probably appeal to this psychologically conscious age even if he were only a work of fiction. And the countless students of the Holocaust must be drawn to it by an utterly inextricable mix of horror and disgust, wonder and mystification, at what mankind has done to mankind. It is not easy, or really possible, to sort out even the garden-variety sensibilities at play among the public consumers of all the cultural war goods. Surely those who keep shtiky Hogan's Heroes going as a

TV rerun series differ from those who keep such volumes as Hitler's Mein Kampf and William Shirer's The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich moving off the paperback shelves.

mere wish to be distracted and entertained would be enough to draw people to the vast multimedia tide of factual and fictional material. There is something there for every yen: battles on land and sea, adventures in the air and underground, home-front drama, tactics, strategy, diplomacy, ideology. In The Führer Seed, a new political thriller by Gus Weill, there is even a dash of genetic fancy. Espionage is a staple, naturally, and even equipment is getting immortality: one new \$45 book offers the definitive biography of the Sherman tank, specs included. Nor has there been any shortage, in all this, of what Military Analyst Drew Middleton once wryly called "the Fifi-Dupont-was-washing-her-drawers-when-the-American-tanks-arrived style of military history.

The flood of material must seem familiar in more ways than one to Americans who lived through the period between 1939 and 1945. The war invaded U.S. culture in books, plays, movies and songs long before the country got into the fighting. By 1945 Critic Burns Mantle complained of "a sort of war-play weariness" around Broadway, and moviegoers must have suffered a similar feeling. Immediately after Pearl Harbor, Hol-

lywood-so Richard Lingeman records in Don't You Know There's a War On? -rushed to register titles for prospective war movies. Not many of the era's flicks -The Fighting Seabees. The Fleet's In, Wake Island -are memorable except as museum pieces, but one endured as such a standard favorite that nobody tends to think of it any more as a World War II movie:

Casablanca The war was well ended before material of the

quality of The Best Years of Says Kane: "World War I no one cares about. World War II | Our Lives and The Naked and the Dead began to appear. A movie like The Bridge Over the River Kwai, reeking of war's futility, could not have been screened during the conflict, any more than the cynical existential slapstick of Catch-22 could have been published. Detachment required distance in time, and even more time was needed for the development of the best war material that was to come, those meticulous historical narratives, say, in which the late Cornelius Ryan, beginning in 1959, captivated a huge American audience. Indeed in print and on film, Ryan's tale telling in The Longest Day. The Final Battle and A Bridge Too Far might be credited with warming the public up for the heightened interest that is maturing today. Ryan's stories became part of the accumulating national mem-

ory of the war The U.S. fascination with World War II is no more or less a riddle than mankind's with war generally. It is at once easy to understand and yet as perversely puzzling as human nature itself. On its bloody face, war might seem a thing any sensible person would wish to put out of mind. Yet people have always clung to war, remembering it, exalting it and habitually mining it for human truths. War, after all, cannot be surpassed as revealing drama: it intensifies, exposes and amplifies all emotion and yearning, bad and good

Oscar Wilde professed to believe that war is fascinating because it is thought to be wicked. His theory: "When it is looked upon as vulgar, it will cease to be popular." Obviously, war's vulgarity has not yet vanquished its wickedness or the sense of adventure it engenders, even if vicariously. That aside, World War II is likely to remain a popular subject in the U.S. for a long time to come, if only because, for millions, it is still viewed as the nation's most splendid hour. Frank Trippett



Presidio Press in 1974 to Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at history-making Yalta conference







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